

JOSEPH SMITH, JR.'S



RED BRICK STORE

ROGER D. LAUNIUS and F. MARK McKIERNAN

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**by
Roger D. Launius and F. Mark McKiernan**

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For the "Friends of the Red Brick Store"

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Foreword

Participating in the reconstruction of the Joseph Smith, Jr., Red Brick Store at Nauvoo, Illinois, was a privilege. In 1978 a small group of members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints wanted to make a significant gift to the movement founded by Joseph Smith, Jr., during its 1980 sesquicentennial. The "Friends of the Red Brick Store," a group of twelve Reorganized Church members, agreed to make personal contributions to the total cost of the reconstruction of the store.

The gift of the Red Brick Store from the "Friends" is to all people, especially those who trace their religious heritage to Joseph Smith, Jr., and the movement he founded. The store is a special historic site to members of both the Reorganized Church and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

In the reconstruction of the Red Brick Store the "Friends" have not only restored a structure significant to the history of Nauvoo and Joseph Smith, Jr., but have also restored a space in which many individuals shared a divine encounter. It is for them a sacred space.

It was a pleasure to serve as chairman of the executive committee for the reconstruction of the Red Brick Store. The "Friends" and all who participated in the reconstruction of this significant historic building have earned my deep appreciation.

C. Eugene Austin, Sr.
Council of Twelve Apostles
Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints

Preface

The Red Brick Store, built by Joseph Smith, Jr., in Nauvoo, Illinois, during the heyday of the Latter Day Saint sojourn there, is a unique building. One of the most important structures in the city, around it revolved much of the economic, political, religious, and social activity of the Mormon stronghold. After the exodus of the majority of the Mormons in the city in the mid-1840s, the building declined in importance and deteriorated. It was eventually torn down and its brick used to construct other buildings in the community. For nearly ninety years all that was left of the store was its foundation. Because of the intense historic reconstruction effort in Nauvoo, however, in 1978 the Reorganized Church, owners of the Red Brick Store site, decided to reconstruct the building as part of its 1980 sesquicentennial celebration. Since that time it has been an important stop for visitors to historic Nauvoo. This monograph contains a recapitulation of the structure's history from its first building through demolition to reconstruction. It also contains a portion of the daybook used to record business transactions in the store during the first two years of its existence. We have sought to write the history of the building with candor, for within its walls both triumphant and tragic events occurred.

This study could not have been completed without the help of many people. Special thanks are due to the staffs of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri; the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah; the Joseph Smith Historic Center, Nauvoo, Illinois; the Special Collections Department, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; the Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah; and the Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. We also wish to express appreciation to Dr. Robert T. Bray, University of Missouri-Columbia; Kenneth E. Stobaugh, Joseph Smith Historic Center, Nauvoo, Illinois; the late Dr. T. Edgar Lyon, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Utah; Dr. Richard L. Anderson, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; Eugene Theys, Independence, Missouri; George Lund, Overland Park, Kansas; Francis E. Hansen, Independence, Missouri; C. Eugene Austin, Independence, Missouri; and others too numerous to mention.

R.D.L.

F.M.M.

Contents

1. Storekeeping in Nauvoo	9
2. Center of Nauvoo Society	19
3. From Decline to Destruction, 1844-1890	33
4. Store Reconstruction	41
5. Red Brick Store Daybook	51
Notes	77

1

Storekeeping in Nauvoo

During the bitter winter of 1838-39 some 5,000 Latter Day Saints crossed the Mississippi River from Missouri and settled in western Illinois. Since its inception almost ten years before, this group of religious pioneers, led by Joseph Smith, Jr., had been the brunt of political rhetoric, social ostracism, and in some cases mob violence.¹ These people came to Illinois in 1838 and 1839 not as ordinary settlers, but as religious refugees from neighboring Missouri, the state's population expelling them following a brutal and deadly conflict.

In Illinois during the early 1840s these people built one of the most impressive and powerful cities in the wilderness, the community of Nauvoo, erected with dedication and sacrifice by the Mormons on a limestone flat by the banks of the Mississippi River some fifty miles north of Quincy.² Throughout the first half of the 1840s Nauvoo dominated Hancock County with its wealth, population, cultural achievements, and military and political power. For the Saints, the rise of this mighty religious commonwealth was the fulfillment of the shattered dreams of previous church-dominated communities at Kirtland, Ohio, and Independence and Far West, Missouri. They believed that God had finally enabled them to begin the establishment of His Kingdom on earth.³

The Mormons began construction of the city of Nauvoo during the summer of 1839 and continued a massive building program until the church abandoned the site in early 1846.⁴ By the end of their first year at Nauvoo, the Saints possessed what was essentially an overgrown wilderness community of log homes, a few shops, and an infant mercantile and manufacturing economy. Building seemed to be taking place on every side. George Miller, later a bishop in the church, captured the vitality of Nauvoo in the summer of 1840, enthusing that the community "was growing like a mushroom (as it were, by magic)."⁵ Near the same time Joseph Smith remarked "The number of inhabitants is nearly three thousand, and is fast increasing. If we are suffered to remain, there is every prospect of its becoming one of the largest cities on the river, if not the western world. Numbers have moved in from the seaboard, and a few from the islands of the sea."⁶ The city continued to grow rapidly thereafter. According to newspaper editor Thomas Gregg of Warsaw, Illinois, during the heyday of Nauvoo, the Saints built about "1,200 hand-hewn log cabins, most of them white-washed inside, 200 to 300 good substantial brick houses and 300 to 500 frame houses."⁷

Nauvoo was, in essence, a boom town, and no one was a greater booster than Joseph Smith. Smith wrote to Edward Hunter, a recent convert to Mormonism

from Pennsylvania, in December, 1841, about business prospects in the city. "There are scarcely any limits which can be imagined to the mills and machinery and manufacturing of all kinds which might be put into profitable operation in this city," he boasted, "and even if others should use a mill before you get here, it need be no discouragement to either you or Brother Buchwalter, for it will be difficult for the mills to keep pace with the growth of the place, and you will do well to bring the engine."⁸

His enthusiasm was justified, for Nauvoo seemed to the Saints the most magnificent place on earth. Nauvoo's population doubled every year between 1839 and 1842, and continued its rise until 1846. Most of the inhabitants were Saints, and they were intent on bringing to fruition the spiritual and secular community that they had long sought. The most important expression of the community's meaning was a majestic temple symbolizing not only the substantial nature of the church in the 1840s but also a rapidly developing Mormon theology that ran counter to common American religious beliefs. Excavation for the foundation began as early as the fall of 1840, but the real impetus to build the Temple came on January 19, 1841, when Joseph Smith proclaimed a revelation commanding the building's construction.⁹ Thereafter, work on the religious edifice continued by the Saints with zest for the next five years. Built of gray limestone, the building came to dominate Nauvoo from its perch atop the bluffs overlooking the city. It stood 165-feet high, measured 88 by 128 feet, and cost something over \$1 million—a not inconsiderable sum at the time.¹⁰

The demands of the Temple's construction, as well as other building projects, stretched the Saints' resources almost to the point of breaking. The men of Nauvoo were expected to donate one day in ten to construction work on the Temple and to make at least one-tenth of their earnings an offering to the church for this project and other expenses. Those who had cash were expected to donate it to the effort, but if they had none, as was the case with most of the Saints, the church accepted the equivalent in goods. As a result, Temple finance rested squarely on barter. Consequently, some men worked full-time on the Temple and received their pay in bartered goods from the resources donated by others.¹¹ Using this system of finance and work over a period of years, the citizens of Nauvoo erected their Temple.

The Nauvoo of the early 1840s provided a heady business atmosphere for its inhabitants. As a boom town it was possible for fortunes to be made or lost quickly. The city, therefore, attracted a large number of entrepreneurs, businessmen, investors, and speculators. The most substantial economic group within the city were honest businessmen; some were not affiliated with the church, but most were members. Quickly after its founding, the citizens of Nauvoo were supporting two distinct business districts. One was on the southern end along Main and Water

On the southern end nearest the river were several general stores and manufacturing concerns, most notably the store operated by William and Wilson Law, two wealthy church members from Canada, and virtually all of the business enterprises that required water power such as grist mills and lumber yards. In the upper district several other businesses were established during 1841 and 1842. For instance, M. Adams's boot and shoe repair; Jasper Haven's drugstore; Power and Adams's books, shoes, and matches; Davis's and Williams's tailor shop; a leather store operated by Joseph Horne, P.D. Cahoon's auctioneering activities; and Joseph Hamner's comb factory all operated along the Mulholland business district.¹²

In all, the range of businesses attracted to the city was impressive. These included manufacturers of textiles and clothing, straw products, matches, soap and candles, leather goods, wagons, and rope. Craftsmen plied their trades in the Mormon mecca as well. Included among them were tanners, blacksmiths, silversmiths, a goldsmith, watchmakers, ironmongers, a coffin maker, a gunsmith, several wainwrights, and a tool manufacturer. The city also held promise for businessmen owning foundries, grist mills, sawmills, butcher shops, and printing establishments. Plans were even made for the construction of a chinaware factory to be manned by converts from the pottery works of Staffordshire, England. Finally, Nauvoo provided a variety of commercial and professional services. It had nine law firms, three physicians, three newspapers, and several professional teachers.¹³

There were, in addition to other economic activities, some thirty-five general stores in Nauvoo. For example, Edwin D. Wooley and Edward Hunter each operated profitable stores in the Mulholland Street business district. Possibly the most prosperous of the stores established during the early years of the Saints' sojourn at Nauvoo was a store operated by the brothers Law.¹⁴ While the Law brothers' store was most productive, undoubtedly the most important general store in Nauvoo was built by Joseph Smith during the fall of 1841 and opened for business the next January. It was housed in a two-story brick building on Water Street not far from his home. The prophet stocked the store with every conceivable item sold by frontier merchants, and enjoyed running it himself until the spring of 1842 when he found that it took too much effort and proved unprofitable.¹⁵

Joseph Smith III, the prophet's son, described the construction process. He remembered that as a boy he "was an almost daily visitor on the lot when this building was being erected, became acquainted with the workmen, and watched the primitive methods used." He noted especially the manner in which the workmen fashioned the interior wooden columns supporting the ceiling. He wrote:

Cross posts were driven into the ground some distance apart, like an extended sawbuck, and a stick of timber out of which the posts were to be turned was laid in these forks. A crank, fastened to the end, turned the post while the workmen held the tools against it cutting away the outside and leaving the finished piece to be used in the building. This

was the first turning lathe I ever saw and, I may add, the only one of its kind I have ever seen.

The workmen quickly erected the spacious brick building throughout the fall of 1841. Joseph Smith III remembered that Francis Clark and his brother David, who had a stone quarry on Parley Street on the outskirts of Nauvoo, did the stone work for the building. They cut the frames for the doors and windows and the stone for the steps from a "variety [of stone] called free stone which was brought from across the river."¹⁶

As the walls of the Red Brick Store went up, the prophet made preparations for its opening. On November 8, 1841, Smith recorded that he had received a letter from Bishop Newel K. Whitney, the church's chief financial officer, reporting that he had purchased \$5,000 worth of goods for the new store in the Northeast. In December, Smith received a stock of goods for the store, purchased by Edward Hunter, which he accepted "as payment on your debt, so far as it goes." Hunter had purchased land from Smith in Nauvoo in September of 1841 and still owed \$3,500 for it and the cost of a home he was having built on it.¹⁷ Just three days before Christmas Smith commented that "Thirteen wagons arrived from Warsaw, loaded with sugar, molasses, glass, salt, tea, coffee, &c, purchased in St. Louis." He added that this was not the original stock, which had been purchased in New Orleans, but replacements. The original had been confiscated in St. Louis by "one Holbrook, innkeeper, under false pretenses."¹⁸ It seems that the Firm of Holbrook and Co. had claimed these goods in compensation for two unsettled notes taken out by the church in 1837, one for \$287 and the other for an undetermined amount. Consequently, Holbrook was trying to collect a bad debt.¹⁹ Throughout the month of December, 1841, therefore, Joseph was involved in readying his store for opening, although, as he reported on December 14, "The joiners and masons are yet at work in the lower part of the building."²⁰

It was not unusual for Joseph Smith to operate a general store in Nauvoo during the 1840s. The proprietorship of a store was a very fitting profession for a community leader on the frontier. And while the store as reconstructed in Nauvoo may appear modest in size to modern observers, in frontier Illinois it was truly an impressive building. The leading commercial center on the Upper Mississippi was at St. Louis, and the Red Brick Store was as large and well-stocked as most of the establishments in that city. It was considerably more impressive than most of the stores located outside St. Louis. For instance, in 1836 the first store to be opened in Davenport, Iowa Territory, was a single-room, shingled log cabin measuring 16 by 20 feet. Moreover, a store at the river town of Arrow Rock, Missouri, was quite typical of most frontier establishments. Lewis E. Atherton, an able historian of frontier storekeeping, described this facility:

The framework was of hewed logs, laid lengthwise, the chinks between the logs filled with clay and lime. The structure itself consisted of two rooms, each about 20 feet square – one to be used for a sales

room, the other for storing goods. . . . Interior walls were whitewashed, except in the salesroom, where there were shelves ranging along all four sides. A counter of boards, 30 inches wide and 12 feet long, extended from the window to the partition wall between the sections, the larger of which could be entered by the front door. The smaller section opened into the storeroom, an arrangement that permitted easy access to supplies not on the shelves and provided an area in which the clerk could sell goods without hindrance from customers. A large shoebox or hatbox served as a desk, and money was kept in a drawer under the counter, with a small hole cut through the top of the counter for convenience and safety when business was heavy.²¹

By contrast, the Red Brick Store was one of the finest mercantile establishments in the region. Joseph Smith described his store with obvious pride to Edward Hunter on January 5, 1842. He wrote:

I am happy that it is my privilege to say to you that the large building which I had commenced when you were here is now completed, and the doors are opened this day for sale of goods for the first time. The foundation of the building is somewhat spacious (as you will doubtless recollect) for a country store.

The principal part of the building below, which is ten feet high, is devoted exclusively to shelves and drawers, except one door opening back into the space, on the left of where are the cellar and chamber stairs opens a door into the large front room of the same size with the one below, the walls lined with counters, covered with reserved goods.

The painting of the store has been executed by Edward Martin, one of our English brethren; and the counters, drawers, and pillars present a very respectable representation of oak, mahogany and marble for a backwoods establishment.²²

On January 5, 1842, when Smith opened his store to the public for the first time, the building became a center of the economic life of the community. The prophet described his activities on that day:

The Lord has blessed our exertions in a wonderful manner, and although some individuals have succeeded in detaining goods to a considerable amount for the time being, yet we have been enabled to secure goods in the building sufficient to fill all the shelves as soon as they were completed, and have some in reserve, both in loft and cellar.

Our assortment is tolerably good – very good considering the different times, and under circumstances which controlled their choice to some extent; but I rejoice that we have been enabled to do as well as we have, for the hearts of many of the poor brethren and sisters will be made glad with those comforts which are now within their reach.

The store had been filled to overflowing, and I have stood behind the counter all day, dealing out goods as steady as any clerk you ever saw, to oblige those who were compelled to go without their usual

Christmas and New Year's dinners, for the want of a little sugar, molasses, raisins, &c, &c; and to please myself also, for I love to wait upon the Saints, and be a servant to all, hoping that I may be exalted in the due time of the Lord.²³

The prophet did a brisk business in the Red Brick Store from the very outset. Many of the Saints on the south end of town had accounts there and the only extant daybook of the store, maintaining records for the period between June 23, 1842, and June 22, 1844, contained all the prominent people of the community. Indeed, it read like a "who's who" of early Mormonism. A particularly busy day for the store took place on Saturday, July 2, 1842, as the Saints prepared for a huge Independence Day celebration the next Monday. The following list was representative of this day's trade:²⁴

178	Joseph Smith	
	To 95 ^{lb} Sugar @ 1/	11.88
	To 17 ^{lb} Codfish @	1.70
	To Paid this amount	
	to man	10.00
	To 2 fine Straw Bonnets	
	for Eliza Partridge	7.00
	To 278 ^{lb} Sugar @ 12 ^{ct}	33.39 = \$63.94
165	Wilford Woodruff	
	To 3 11/16 ^{lb} L Sugar	.75
	To 2 1/2 Yds Blk Camb @ 1/6	.47
	To 1 Spade 10/	1.25 = 2.47
166	Wilson Law	
	To 1 Whip 12/	1.50
201	Willard Richards	
	To P ^d Caroline Tomlinson	1.75
	To P ^d Miss Nickerson	1.00 = 2.75
	(For Clayton)	
159	William Law for Wife	
	To 8 Yd Calico @ 1/	1.00
	To 1 pr Small Shoes 8/	1.00 = 2.00
205	JW Coolidge	
	To 1 pr Shoes	2.00
	To 12 Yd Stripe Cotton	
	Buttons	3.88
	To Thread Hkfs	1.25
	To 2 Yds Sheeting	.25 = 7.38
187	Brigham Young	
	To 1 pr Shoes	2.25
	To 1 do Small Shoes	1.00
	To 1 Cradle Scythe for Man	1.50 = 4.75

182	Nauvoo House	
	To 1 pr Shoes fr H Miller	1.63
	To Pines 1 ..	.13
	To Jeans ..	.35
	To 1 pr Boots ..	4.00 = 6.11
195	W. W. Phelps	
	To 1 Yd Ribband	.13
177	N. K. Whitney	
	To 3 Doz Eggs	.19
	To 1 pr Shoes 12/	1.50
	To 2 Barlows 2/	.25
	To Wicking & Gloves 3/6	.44 = 2.38
199	Theodore Turley	
	To 2 Combs for Girl	.25
35	Porter Rockwell	
	To ½ Doz S. Collars @ 2/3	1.69
212	Temple Committee	
	To 1 pr Boots Del ^d Wm Kimball	3.50
	To Thread for Hulett	.19 = 3.69
199	Theodore Turley	
	To 2 Combs for Girl	.25
35	Porter Rockwell	
	To ½ Doz S. Collars @ 2/3	1.69
212	Temple Committee	
	To 1 pr Boots Del ^d Wm Kimball	3.50
	To Thread for Hulett	.19 = 3.69
200	E Robinson	
	To 1 pr fine Boots	5.00
	To 1 pr Kid Slipd 12/	1.50 = 6.50
96	Heber C. Kimball	
	To 1 pr Boots	\$4.50
190	V Knight	
	To 20 Yds Ticking @ 2/	3.50
	To 32 do Sheetting @ 13¢	4.16 = 7.66

The goods which these individuals purchased from the Red Brick Store had been stocked from wholesalers, usually in St. Louis, New Orleans, or Chicago.

The prophet's store served not only as a place to purchase goods, but also acted as a frontier bank. In this regard, transactions between individuals were recorded in the store's ledgers and accounts of personal business dealings were maintained by the proprietor. For instance, on March 20, 1843, Robert D. Foster, a prosperous businessman in the city, paid E. Rhodes \$421.77 for principal and interest on three notes he had secured on July 4, 1842.²⁵ The store itself also served as bank, loaning capital to individuals with good credit. Joseph W. Coolidge, another businessman, borrowed \$1,000 at 12 percent interest, and made regular payments to the store for this privilege.²⁶ More than this, however, Smith conducted real estate transactions from the store. As an example, on October 9, 1843,

one Robert Campbell rented from Smith a house on the corner of Main and Water streets in Nauvoo for the sum of four dollars per month. This transaction was recorded in the store's daybook.²⁷

Additionally, the store served as the operating location from which the bishop collected the tithes of church members. It was also a distribution point for Temple workmen receiving their wages or goods in exchange for labor. It served as the point from which supplies were issued to work crews both within the city and those sent north to the Black River, Wisconsin, pineries to cut lumber for the construction of Nauvoo buildings. Furthermore, the store collected city taxes, paid city employees, sold subscriptions of the church newspapers, and engaged in other economic pursuits. All of these were reflected in the store's daybook.²⁸

In spite of the constant activity at the Red Brick Store, Joseph Smith suffered tremendous economic setbacks in the business. This was probably the result of two factors. First, although business was adequate, as already mentioned, Nauvoo had developed two distinct business districts. On the southern end of the city Smith's store competed chiefly with the shop operated by the Law brothers, but the upper business district boasted several general stores, many of which were under the proprietorship of non-Mormons. The nonmember storeowners were generally better financed than the church members; they could better afford to buy in quantity and at lower prices while still showing a profit. The result was an overly competitive business climate for the Saints in Nauvoo.²⁹

The second reason for economic failure at the Red Brick Store was closely allied to the first. The prophet's business was built on too much credit and too little cash. The majority of the people Smith served in the store were poor Latter Day Saints, but Smith could not just allow them to starve and he operated on less than fully sound business principles. The result was greater indebtedness for his store. To offset this outpouring of finances, Smith tapped church sources, using tithing donations and borrowing heavily to keep the store open. When these approaches could be used no longer, Smith called personally upon wealthy church members to acquire more assets for the store.³⁰

For example, on several occasions Smith asked Edward Hunter and Edwin D. Wooley for money or goods, presenting his requests as necessary for the welfare of the church. On March 9, 1842, Smith wrote to Hunter about their business dealings. In this letter, Smith instructed Hunter to divert funds dedicated to the Temple and Nauvoo House construction projects that he had collected for use in the procurement of commodities for sale or trade in the Red Brick Store. He told Hunter, "The eight hundred dollars for the Temple and Nauvoo House, I wish you to bring in goods, for which I will give you stock and credit as soon as received." He continued:

I wish you to invest as much money as you possibly can in goods, to bring here, and I will purchase them of you when you come, if we can agree on terms; . . . Some eight or ten thousand dollars worth of goods would be an advantage to this place, therefore, if you or some of the

brethren, would bring them or, have no doubt but that I can arrange for them in some way to your and their advantage.³¹

Why did Smith operate in such an unsound financial manner? Obviously, the church membership needed assistance and his well-known generosity prompted him in that direction. But, in addition, Brigham Young offered a complementary explanation in the 1850s when he refused to allow the Latter-day Saint organization in Utah to develop an official store. He told a congregation in Salt Lake City on October 9, 1852:

“Why does not our Church keep a store here?” Many can answer that question who have lived . . . in Nauvoo, . . . Let me give you a few reasons . . . why Joseph could not keep a store, and be a merchant. . . . Joseph goes to New York and buys 20,000 dollars worth of goods, comes into [Nauvoo] and commences to trade. In comes one of the brethren, “Brother Joseph, let me have a frock pattern for my wife.” What if Joseph says, “No, I cannot without the money.” The consequence would be, “He is no Prophet.” . . . After a while, in comes Bill and sister Susan. Says Bill, “Brother Joseph, I want a shawl, I have not got the money, but I wish you to trust me a week or a fortnight.” Well, brother Joseph . . . lets Bill have a shawl. Bill walks off with it and meets a brother. “Well,” says he, “what do you think of brother Joseph?” “O he is a first-rate man, and I fully believe he is a Prophet. See here, he has trusted me with this shawl.” Richard says, “I think I will go down and see if he won’t trust me some.” In walks Richard. “Brother Joseph I want to trade about 20 dollars.” “Well,” says Joseph “these goods will make the people apostatize; so over they go, they are of less value than the people.” Richard gets his goods. Another comes in the same way to make a trade of 25 dollars, and so it goes. Joseph was a first-rate fellow with them all the time, provided he never would ask them to pay him.

Young suggested that the church membership would “lie awake nights” deciding means to pay debts to non-members, but they expected unlimited credit from the Saints.³² It appears, therefore, that Joseph Smith had more interest in distributing commodities to Mormon brethren than in running a profitable business.

In addition to the financial difficulties incumbent on the prophet’s continued management of the Red Brick Store, his other duties certainly mitigated against his proprietorship over a store. In the spring of 1842, Smith was not only president of the church but also Nauvoo mayor, chief magistrate, registrar of deeds, and commander of the Nauvoo Legion. Additionally, he oversaw closely the church construction projects, was involved in the production of the *Book of Abraham*, and had several other pastoral duties. As a result, Smith turned responsibility for the store over to others; after March, 1842, references to his mercantile business were notably lacking in his history. Ebenezer Robinson, a young man who had joined the church in 1835 and had operated and edited the *Times and Seasons* from

1839 to 1842, and David Yearsley, a Nauvoo businessman, were known to have managed the store temporarily. More than two years later, in the May 15, 1844, issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, Hiram Kimball, brother of a member of the Council of Twelve Apostles, advertized that he was operating a “general dry goods store” on the first floor of the prophet’s building while Smith retained the second floor for office and meeting space.³³

A final reason behind Smith’s ending his career as a merchant in Nauvoo in April of 1842 was his realization of the extent of his indebtedness – some \$73,066.38 – and the possibility of absorbing it through a recently enacted bankruptcy law.³⁴ This law was the first federal act to allow debtors to institute voluntary bankruptcy proceedings. The only previous federal laws had permitted only compulsory bankruptcy declared at the behest of creditors.³⁵

Immediately after passage, the Quincy law firm of Ralston, Warren, and Wheat inaugurated a forceful advertising campaign designed to win clients taking advantage of the new liberal act. In April, 1842, *The Wasp*, a secular Nauvoo newspaper edited by William B. Smith, carried an advertisement that the Quincy firm was “prepared to attend to all applications for discharge under the Bankruptcy Law,” adding that members of the firm would be in Nauvoo soon in search of business.³⁶ Calvin A. Warren visited Nauvoo on April 14, 1842, and discussed the advantages of a declaration of bankruptcy with Joseph Smith. Within a month, *The Wasp* published notices that Smith, his brother Hyrum, and his close associate Sidney Rigdon had filed petitions for bankruptcy.³⁷ Certainly, Smith was hoping to discharge his debts through the bankruptcy act, and the removal of one bad risk from his responsibility would most assuredly improve his financial standing. All of this legal maneuvering came to nothing, however, for the court disallowed his petition in the summer and fall of 1842.³⁸

After the summer of 1842, Smith did not become involved again in the daily operations of the Red Brick Store. He was constantly in the building and certainly his influence was keenly felt, but another proprietor handled the management of the store. It was during this period that the edited daybook was kept, a fascinating record of the transactions of an elite group of people in Mormon Nauvoo. Between mid-1842 and June, 1844, Smith used the building for offices and religious and civic meetings.

2

Center of Nauvoo Society

The Red Brick Store served the needs of the Mormon community of Nauvoo in many more ways than as simply a place to purchase goods. To a very real extent it was a center of community life. It quickly became a key location for meetings involving church business and civic gatherings of all types. It was, moreover, a place where those with a few minutes of idle time might pass it pleasantly with other loungers around the large stove in the center of the storeroom. It was also a place where all – men, women, and children – met and reinforced the already strong ties of community that the Saints had developed within the church. In addition to this the building was used as a church office building. Joseph Smith, for instance, maintained his office and research room on the second floor, and the Bishopric and Nauvoo Temple Committee had an office where tithes could be paid, property could be registered, and the temporal affairs of the church could be overseen.¹

Although Nauvoo was a frontier community and therefore lacking in the cultural elements of more established cities, the Latter Day Saints as a group supported enthusiastically events usually associated with large cities. The community had a band, staged dramatic expositions, held lectures and debates, and engaged in various fraternal and humanitarian organizations. The membership also sponsored a diverse set of schools ranging from the elementary to the university levels. The Red Brick Store served as a center of many of these activities because, according to the prophet, there was no better place in Nauvoo until the completion in 1844 of the three-story Masonic Lodge and the two-story Seventies Hall.²

Joseph Smith III, for instance, recalled from his boyhood some of the social activities that took place in the store during the early 1840s. He remembered one particular incident when he went to the store to escape, in typical boyish fashion, some chores assigned by his mother and found that his father had spent most of the afternoon wrestling with customers. The grassy turf outside the store had been dug up and stomped down by the wrestlers and the excited spectators. As the boy entered the shop, he heard the men gossiping about the wrestling matches, and learned that his father had thrown, in turn, everyone in the store. Young Smith remembered that not long after his arrival, Cornelius P. Lott came in to buy supplies for his family. Although rather old, Lott was still strong and muscular and was usually willing to demonstrate his strength. Indeed, the older man carried a threatening-looking blacksnake whip that seemed to challenge all comers. The prophet's eyes lit up as Lott walked in and he exclaimed: "Here! I have thrown

down pretty nearly everybody about the place except Brother Lott, and I believe I can throw him down, too!" The older man, accepting the challenge, cackled in a high voice, "Well, my boy, if you'll take it catch-as-catch-can you can't throw old man Lott!"

Smith took off his coat and vest and Lott discarded his whip, and the two headed outside to the wrestling area followed by the other people in the store. The prophet and Lott began the match, but neither could best the other. In fact, Joseph could only manage to bring the older man to his knees. After a few minutes the prophet conceded to Lott, and received a fine ribbing from the onlookers about being unable to throw "an old man." "In the midst of the jibes," young Joseph recalled, "I heard the old man pipe out again, 'I told you, my boy, that you couldn't throw old man Lott!'"³

On occasion, the Saints on the south end of Nauvoo used the assembly room for a school. From time to time, for instance, Joseph C. Cole and his daughter Adelia conducted the Nauvoo Seminary there, teaching English, grammar, geography, natural philosophy, reading, writing, chemistry, spelling, and astronomy. Others, notably Eliza Roxey Snow, also held school for a time in the store.⁴ Although Nauvoo was a frontier community, the Saints ensured that their children received an adequate education. The schools in the city were authorized and supervised by a board of regents and were held wherever space was available. Joseph Smith III recollected that in late 1842 he began attending school in the assembly room of his father's store, having moved from a house across the street. His boyhood memories included several unique instances while in this school. He remembered:

We found it difficult to account for Mr. Cole's manner. Sometimes he was a very strict disciplinarian and at other times was very lax; sometimes he was gay and indulgent and at other times was quite crass. At such latter times his daughter would appear to have been crying. She was such a favorite with us boys that this caused us considerable worry and wonder. Later Smith learned that Cole had a drinking problem "and that his frequent spells of somberness and severity and his daughter's tearfulness were results of his overindulgence."⁵

Joseph III also remembered that on one winter day Cole sent him and another boy to the half-frozen Mississippi River with a pail to get water. Since several accidents had occurred on the ice near the shore, Joseph's parents had forbidden him from going near the water. Nevertheless, Smith and his friend followed the teacher's instructions:

Had we taken the water back to the school directly after dipping it from the hole in the ice it might have been construed that I had not broken my father's command. But the ice was smooth, the opportunity attractive and so we two had a little sliding before we returned with the water to the schoolhouse.

The prophet found out that his son had disobeyed his instructions and in spite of his teacher's protests was severely punished. Joseph Smith III reflected that at the time he had considered the punishment by his father "unnecessarily severe and his judgment in the matter faulty," but later came to realize that the prophet held his son's safety paramount and recognized his wisdom.⁶

The use of the store's assembly room day after day by this school soon proved a nuisance for the other people trying to work there. Accordingly, on November 5, 1843, Joseph Smith gave Willard Richards permission to instruct Joseph Cole to move the school elsewhere. After several requests that Cole ignored, on February 10, 1844, the prophet went to the schoolteacher and ordered him to move his classes to a room above the home of Henry W. Miller because as he said, "I must for the future have that room for my own use."⁷ Cole then did as he had been directed and withdrew the school from the Red Brick Store.

Another important community activity that took place in the assembly room after 1842 were the meetings of the Nauvoo Masonic Lodge. This was the result of several months of preparation and planning to institute this fraternal order in the city. In the early summer of 1841 several Mormon Masons petitioned the Bodley Lodge at Quincy, fifty miles south, to establish a lodge in Nauvoo. Although initially refused on the ground that the petitioners had not demonstrated membership in the order, on October 15, 1841, Abraham Jonas, grand master of the Illinois lodge, granted permission to found a Nauvoo chapter. Almost immediately the Masons in Nauvoo began to hold meetings wherever they could find adequate quarters.⁸ Joseph Smith became a member of the order on March 15, 1842, in a public ceremony in a grove near the site of the Temple. Later that evening in a more private ritual in the assembly room over his store, Smith received the first degree in Free Masonry. One of those officiating, Horace Cummings, reported that to his surprise Smith seemed "to understand some of the features of the ceremony better than any Masons and that he made explanations that rendered rites much more beautiful and full of meaning."⁹ The next day Smith met with the lodge and rose to the sublime degree of Freemasonry.¹⁰ The Mormon lodge grew rapidly, and within six months had more members than all the other Illinois lodges combined. This proliferation of membership, as well as the incorporation of certain segments of masonic lore into the Mormon Temple ceremonies and charges that Smith was inducting women into the lodge, resulted in an investigation and eventual revocation of the Nauvoo lodge's charter in October, 1844.¹¹

The last charge, that of initiating women into Freemasonry, was based on a misconception about another group that used the assembly room over the store on a regular basis. The Ladies Relief Society, organized on March 17, 1842, only two days after the prophet's entrance into the Masonic order and a few weeks before his introduction of unique Temple ceremonies, was an important benevolent organization that used the store for many of its meetings. The twenty women present at the initial gathering of this group elected Emma Smith president, Sarah M. Cleveland and Elizabeth Ann Whitney counselors, and Eliza Roxey Snow secretary and treasurer. Joseph Smith told this organization that these women would

preside over the society just as the First Presidency directed the church. He also counseled the women to “provoke the brethren to good works in looking to the wants of the poor, searching after objects of charity, and in administering to their wants – to assist, by correcting the morals and strengthening the virtues of the community.”¹² Immediately popular among the ladies of the community, the Relief Society membership blossomed to over a thousand by September, 1842, by which time there were too many members for the organization to meet in the store and they began gathering in a grove near the Temple site.¹³

According to the findings of recent researchers, Joseph Smith considered the Relief Society much more than a humanitarian organization.¹⁴ At the meetings of the organization, for instance, the women practiced certain religious sacraments. For example, Emma Smith and her counselors performed the laying on of hands for the healing of the sick, and at least one participant testified that she received a great blessing “when administered to after the last meeting by Emma Smith and [her] Counselors Cleveland and Whitney, she said she never realized more benefit through an administration.”¹⁵ When questioned about the propriety of women performing sacraments of the church, Joseph Smith responded: “there could be no devil in it if God gave his sanction to the healing – that there could be no more sin in any female laying hands on the sick than in wetting the face with water.” He spoke further to the women of the society in the assembly room on April 28, 1842, about this matter, asking them “if they could not see by this sweeping stroke wherein they are ordained, it is the privilege of those set apart to administer in that authority which is conferred on them – and if the sisters should have faith to heal the sick, let all hold their tongues.” These women continued these practices throughout the remainder of the Nauvoo period.¹⁷

While these affairs were conducted in the Red Brick Store, at least part of the time the upper room was also available for public speeches and other performances. For instance, on the evening of February 21, 1844, the Reverend De-Woolf, an Episcopalian minister, lectured in the store’s assembly room about his beliefs and afterward Smith made a reply.¹⁸ Joseph Smith III recalled also that he had his young friends form a secret club, modeled after the Masonic lodge, which held a talent show for the parents in the upper room of the store. Additionally, an occasional debate, drama, and other public activities took place in the store.¹⁹

Joseph Smith also used his assembly room for all manner of political meetings, both those involving party politics and those relating to local government. A notable example of partisan meetings took place in the assembly room on the evening of February 8, 1844, when Joseph Smith, recently declared a candidate for the United States presidency, addressed a small group of Nauvooans about his reasons for his election bid. Apostle Wilford Woodruff recorded what Smith said:

I would not have suffered my name to have been used by my friends on any wise as president of the United States or Candidate for that office if I & my friends could have had the privilege of enjoying our religious & civil rights as American Citizens even those rights which the Constitution guarantees unto all her Citizens alike but this we as a people have been denied from the beginning persecution had roled upon our heads from time to time from portions of the United States like peels of thunder because of our religion & no portion of the government as yet had stepped forward for our relief & under view of these things I feel it to be my right & privilege to obtain what influence & power I can lawfully in the United States for the protection of injured innocence.²⁰

A few months later, Smith addressed another political gathering in the assembly room over his store, also advocating his candidacy for the presidency.²¹ In addition to these meetings, Smith used the assembly room for local bureaucratic gatherings. At times, for example, the city council met in the store. At other times, as mayor of the city, Smith held sessions with other dignitaries and politicians both within and without the city government. Indeed, until the death of Joseph Smith the store was in almost constant use in some type of political activity.

While the upper rooms of the Red Brick Store served a variety of other purposes, it was essentially the church's headquarters during the lifetime of the prophet. Joseph Smith, as president of the church, held quorum meetings with his counselors in the First Presidency – with Sidney Rigdon, who was in town only intermittently after the completion of the store; with John C. Bennett, a man on the make who was expelled from the church in mid-1842 for charges ranging from sexual misconduct to conspiring to murder the prophet; and with William Law, a prosperous businessman and church official. William Law, especially, was almost a daily visitor to the store, and he and Joseph Smith often conferred on matters of church policy. More important than this, however, was Smith's meetings with his brother, Hyrum, presiding patriarch of the church and close advisor of the prophet.²²

Another important church body that met at the Red Brick Store informally with Joseph Smith and collectively as a priesthood quorum was the Twelve Apostles. This quorum had been organized in 1835 as a select body of missionaries to carry the Mormon religion to all nations on the earth. As a result of this commission, the Twelve opened a foreign mission to the British Isles in 1837 and in other countries thereafter. But although the chief missionary arm of the church, by 1842 the Apostolic Quorum had evolved into a very important political body and enjoyed much more authority among the Saints than had been at first intended. Presided over by Brigham Young – as capable as any man in the movement – the Quorum had emerged by 1842 as the principal administrative unit in the church after the

First Presidency, and as such played an integral role in the direction of the movement. Whenever the apostles were in Nauvoo, they were constant visitors to the prophet's office in the Red Brick Store. At the time that Smith began operating from the Red Brick Store, the Quorum included not only Brigham Young but also Heber C. Kimball, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Orson Hyde, William B. Smith, John E. Page, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Willard Richards, and Lyman Wight. Throughout the Nauvoo period this quorum's prestige and authority within the church steadily advanced until by the time of the prophet's death it was in a position to offer a unified leadership to the movement. At every opportunity Joseph met with the members of this quorum in his office to discuss church affairs and to teach them theological principles.²³

While these other church affairs should not be understated, perhaps the most important of the church's bureaucratic functions to take place in the Red Brick Store was under the province of the presiding bishopric, the management of the Temple construction project. The Nauvoo Temple was the greatest of several important building programs in the city, and it required the dedication of the membership to finance and execute its construction. The management of this building program was supervised by a Temple committee, consisting at first of Elias Higbee, Reynolds Cahoon, and Alpheus Cutler, all important church members with expertise in construction. But Joseph Smith, naturally, played a critical albeit informal role in this management process. Later, after the death of Elias Higbee in 1843, Joseph Smith appointed Hyrum Smith to the committee.²⁴

Providing the materials for construction and the provisions for the laborers proved to be the primary problem of the Temple Committee. The body appointed Willard Richards the Temple Recorder to handle this end of the project, and he opened an office in the counting room on the first floor of the Red Brick Store on December 13, 1841. From this office Richards kept a tally of all money and goods contributed and disbursed in the building project.²⁵ By February 10, 1842, this responsibility had grown so complex that Joseph Smith appointed William Clayton, a young clerk who had recently immigrated from Great Britain, to serve as Richards's assistant. On June 29, the press of other duties forced Richards to relinquish informally to Clayton virtually all of the Temple recorder office management functions. Clayton apparently conducted these affairs adequately, for on the evening on September 3, 1842, Smith called Clayton aside and told him, "I want you to take care of the records and papers, and from this time I appoint you Temple Recorder, and when I have any revelations to write you shall write them."²⁶

Each of these men, in turn, kept the "Book of the Law of the Lord," an account of the transactions of the building committee for the Temple. Moreover, Clayton was officially designated to prepare a history of the Nauvoo Temple; to assist in the writing of Joseph Smith's history of the church; to record land transactions; and to keep other account books. He was also charged with the collection and recording of general tithes and offerings.²⁷ Both Richards and Clayton, working from the Red Brick Store, directed a forceful campaign to gather donations

for the Temple. Beginning on June 18, 1842, and running periodically through 1845, they advertised in the secular newspaper, the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, for donations. "Meal, Flour, and Provisions of every kind wanted on tithing," read one such advertisement. As interior work was getting underway in the building, another advertisement read: "Notice – About 6 or 8 thousand good lath wanted immediately. The amount shall be credited on tithing. William Clayton, Recorder."²⁸ Clayton and Richards apparently made use of very nearly every commodity donated to the church. The Saints noted that the Red Brick Store served as a place to gather such goods. The Temple recorder's office then collected, according to an 1880 history of the county, "almost every conceivable thing, from all kinds of implements and men's and women's clothing, down to baby clothes and trinkets, which had been deposited by the owners as tithing, or for the benefit of the Temple."²⁹

This complicated system naturally created difficulties, and the Red Brick Store was the scene of several disagreements over management of Temple resources. The value of goods was always in question and, since there was no public accounting by the Temple Committee, rumors of mismanagement circulated freely. As an example, on October 1, 1842, Joseph Smith became involved in this question:

Some reports had been circulated that the committee was not making a righteous disposition of property consecrated for the building of the Temple, and there appeared to be some dissatisfaction amongst the laborers. After carefully examining the accounts and inquiring into the manner of the proceedings of the committee, I expressed myself perfectly satisfied with them and their works. The books were balanced between the trustee and the committee, and the wages all agreed upon.³⁰

Such allegations continued thereafter, however, and in November of 1842, the Temple stonecutters complained of unequal distribution of provisions. Among other charges, they complained that the Temple Committee gave more iron and steel tools to Reynolds Cahoon's sons than to others, that they had not given the full due in lumber to Dimick Huntington, and that they had let a contract for "the first course of stone around the temple to the man who would do it for the least price, etc."³¹ It was only because of the prestige and authority of Joseph Smith that the committee was able to function during these complaints, for the prophet was able to soothe the difficulties.

The Temple Committee operating out of the Red Brick Store, therefore, was a critical element of the Nauvoo lifestyle. Its activities were generally successful, for by the time of Smith's death in June, 1844, the building's walls had been raised as high as the second story and its construction was progressing quickly. Because of the difficulties between the Smith family and the church leadership in 1844, however, the Temple recorder's office had to be moved to other quarters following

the prophet's death, but even so its work continued much as before. By late January of 1846 it had all but been completed, and the Twelve began practicing the unique ordinances taught by the prophet there. Ironically, these practices began almost at the same time that the majority of the membership in Nauvoo was beginning to leave the city in the soon-to-become famous Mormon trek westward to Utah. As a result, they were unable to enjoy the use of the building long.³²

Certainly the most important use of the Red Brick Store arose when Joseph Smith began to use it as a base of operations for teaching unique religious conceptions. He described his religious work on the upper floor of the store, in a January 5, 1842, letter to Edward Hunter. He wrote:

In front of the stairs opens the door to my private office, or where I keep the sacred writings, with a window to the south. Overlooking the river below, and the opposite shore for a great distance, which, together with a passage of boats in the seasons thereof, constitutes a peculiarly interesting situation, in prospect, and no less interesting from its retirement from the bustle and confusion of the neighborhood and city, and altogether a place where the Lord is pleased to bless.³³

In the two south rooms Joseph kept his offices, one of which was a place where he "received revelations and translated ancient records."³⁴

From the origins of the Mormon movement, the church relied heavily upon "divine instruction" through Joseph Smith. During the time that the church was headquartered in Nauvoo, Joseph Smith dictated nine documents that the Mormons accepted as revelation from God. Two were given at Ramus, Illinois, a few miles outside Nauvoo; one was proclaimed in the home of Brigham Young, president of the Quorum of Twelve Apostles; and three were given before the Red Brick Store was built. But the remaining three were most likely written in the prophet's office in the upper floor of the building.³⁵

Perhaps no issue in Mormon theology has been more volatile than plural marriage. During the 1840s, the Latter Day Saint movement split over the issue following the death of Joseph Smith. Those who followed Brigham Young to Utah, as well as other sects arising out of the church, embraced the doctrine. On the other hand, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, coalescing around the son of the prophet during mid-century, rejected the practice and denied that it had been a tenet of the faith in Nauvoo during Smith's lifetime. Joseph Smith III asserted that he could never believe that his father had been guilty of such a practice, but that if he was he had been wrong and would be called to account for his sins.³⁶

Whether Smith was involved or not, and the question is moot at this time, all people interested in Mormon history recognize that the recording of the purported revelation on eternal and plural marriage holds critical importance. Its expression

by the various Mormon groups throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century was undoubtedly the driving force in the religion. The genesis of plural marriage, according to commonly held beliefs, came on July 12, 1843, when Smith dictated at the Red Brick Store a supposed revelation on the subject.³⁷ According to William Clayton, Joseph and Hyrum Smith called him into the “small office upstairs in the rear of [the] store” and Joseph dictated the document.³⁸ Clayton recorded the event in his personal diary:

This A.M. I wrote a Revelation consisting of 10 pages on the order of the priesthood, showing the designs in Moses, Abraham, David and Soloman having many wives and concubines &c. After it was wrote Prests. Joseph & Hyrum presented it and read it to E[mma] who said she did not believe a word of it and appeared very rebellious.³⁹

Clayton later explained that Hyrum returned to the store totally dumfounded by Emma’s lack of acceptance.⁴⁰ When discussing the incident with his brother, Joseph Smith reportedly said, “I told you you did not know Emma as well as I did.”⁴¹ Later, after copies had been made, Joseph supposedly allowed his wife to burn the original copy, hoping that it would soothe her anger. Throughout her life, Emma Smith denied all knowledge of her husband’s teaching of plural marriage. Nonetheless, the group of Mormons led to Utah by Brigham Young accepted the doctrine and plural marriage became the most notable source of contention between the Mormons and other people in the nation during the remainder of the nineteenth century. Because of pressures from the federal government in 1890, the Mormon church officially abandoned the practice.⁴²

A second important religious document produced in the Red Brick Store, this time a supposed translation of some ancient Egyptian papyri, was published in early 1842 as the *Book of Abraham*. Joseph Smith had become involved in this project on July 1, 1835, when Michael H. Chandler visited the church’s stronghold at Kirtland, Ohio, bearing four Egyptian mummies and assorted papyri. Chandler had obtained these mummies from the estate of his uncle, Antonio Lebolo, who had died in Trieste in 1832. The Saints at Kirtland were intrigued by the ancient records associated with the mummies, asking Joseph – who had a reputation after the publication of the *Book of Mormon* as being one with the ability to decipher such documents – to translate. Several church members purchased the mummies and papyri and delivered them to Smith for the translation process. Apparently, the prophet went immediately to work on these documents, for he announced within a short time that one of the papyri contained a sacred account of Abraham’s exile in Egypt.⁴³

Over the next several years Smith worked toward completion of a translation of this papyri, compiling an “Egyptian Alphabet and Grammer” to aid in the process. The Saints apparently expected that this work would be fully as important a scriptural record as the *Book of Mormon*.⁴⁴ After years of working intermittently on this project between 1835 and 1841, apparently progressing no further than

the second chapter of the book, Joseph returned to the task during the first months of 1842. During January and February, Smith secluded himself in his private office in the Red Brick Store and prepared the manuscript, and beginning with the March 1, 1842, issue of the *Times and Seasons* the record appeared serially in its entirety.⁴⁵ This book was eventually canonized by the Utah branch of the Latter Day Saint movement and has been used as scripture by that group ever after.⁴⁶

The exact relationship between the ancient papyri and the *Book of Abraham* produced by Joseph Smith has been questioned in recent years because of the discovery and retranslation of papyri using modern knowledge of Egyptian. The modern translations make it clear that the prophet did not provide a literal account of the text of the papyri and Mormon scholars have suggested that the scrolls themselves may simply have been the catalyst that turned Smith's mind back to ancient Egypt and opened it to revelation about Abraham's experience there. Nonetheless, the *Book of Abraham* contained important doctrinal statements that were incorporated into the Mormon religion as practiced by the followers of Brigham Young. Notable among these was the concept of the plurality of gods and a hierarchy of deities that "organized" rather than "created" the universe. The curse of Cain was also expounded and became one of the intellectual underpinnings of the Utah Mormon denial of priesthood to blacks.⁴⁷

More than simply a place where Joseph produced religious writings, the upper floor of the Red Brick Store was a location where he held meetings and taught his followers his doctrinal conceptions. The most important of these were the temple rituals that he began to teach to a select gathering of associates early in 1842. On May 3, 1842, Joseph Smith prepared the assembly room of his store for the introduction of secret temple ceremonies. These religious ordinances, Smith believed, were a restoration of the celestial law of God to the earth. Five or six men aided Smith in preparing the room for this ritual. Lucius N. Scovill, one of these men, recalled that the prophet explained "that the object he had was for us to go to work and fit up the room preparatory to giving endowments to a few Elders."⁴⁸ James Henry Rollins, another who assisted in preparing the assembly room, remembered "carrying water and other commodities to the room above the store. Afterwards I found out it was to give endowments to some of the Brethren."⁴⁹ The men apparently prepared the room by painting a mural of a pastoral scene in the northwest corner and by arranging several sprigs of cassis, olive branches, cedar boughs, and other evergreens about the room. This pastoral setting paralleled the Garden Room in later Mormon temples and was probably the model for such later buildings.⁵⁰

With all the preparation, the upper rooms of the store were ill-suited to the conducting of temple rituals. It was, however, the most adequate location in Nauvoo before the completion of the Temple. The prophet believed that the ceremonies could only be conducted in an upper room, and the assembly room of the Red Brick Store was the only place of adequate size in Nauvoo during 1842 and 1843 where people could assemble with relative privacy.⁵¹ Brigham Young, for example, noted that in spite of the limitations of the store, Joseph Smith divided

“up the room the best he could.” He added that when finished it “was arranged representing the interior of a temple as much as the circumstances would permit.”⁵²

After the preparation had been completed, on May 4, 1842, Joseph called together several church leaders and initiated them into the new religious ordinances, commanding them to conduct these in the Temple once it was completed. The prophet’s history noted that:

I spent the day in [the assembly room above the store in] council with General James Adams of Springfield, Patriarch Hyrum Smith, Bishops Newel K. Whitney and George Miller, and President Brigham Young, and Elders Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards, instructing them in the principles and order of the Priesthood, and so on to the highest order of the Melchizedek Priesthood, setting forth the order pertaining to the Ancient of Days and all those plans and principles by which any one is enabled to secure the fullness of those blessings which have been prepared for the Church of the First Born, and came up and which in the presence of Elohim in the eternal worlds. In this council was instituted the ancient order of things for the first time in these last days. And the communications I made to this council were of things spiritual and to be received only by the spiritual minded; and there is nothing made known to these men but what will be made known to all the Saints of the last days, as soon as they were prepared to receive, and a proper place is prepared to communicate them, even to the weakest of Saints; therefore let the Saints be diligent in building the Temple . . . knowing assuredly that all these things . . . are always governed by the principles of revelation.⁵³

Not long thereafter, Heber C. Kimball wrote to a colleague in the Quorum of Twelve, Parley P. Pratt, about this event. “We have received some pressious things through the Prophet on the preasthood that would caus you Soul to rejoice I can not give them to you on paper for they are not to be riten.”⁵⁴ The rituals conducted in the Red Brick Store’s assembly room involved symbolic washings, anointings, and special signs and symbols that evolved into the temple endowments as practiced in Utah a few years later. Members were initiated into the select group of participants through washing and anointing. At the group’s weekly meetings these individuals wore special temple robes and practiced special endowment rituals. An important part of this, after September 28, 1843, when women were first allowed participation in these activities, involved special prayer circles.⁵⁴

By 1843 many Saints in Nauvoo had learned of the rituals being enacted in the upper room of the Red Brick Store, although no official announcements about the practice had been made. William Clayton, personal secretary of the prophet, felt deprived of religious blessings when he learned that these meetings had been going on and he had not been invited to participate. He went so far as to ask the prophet for permission to join the select group and he was given entrance soon thereafter, for on February 3, 1844, he received his initial washings and anoint-

*Emma Smith, c. 1842.**Joseph Smith, Jr., c. 1842.*

ings. He described his feelings afterwards:

This is one of the greatest favors ever conferred on me and for which I feel grateful. May the God of Joseph preserve me & mine house to walk in the paths of righteousness all the days of my life & oh that I may never sin against him or displease him For thou oh God knowest my desire to do right that I may have eternal life.⁵⁵

Ebenezer Robinson never attended a meeting of this group but became acquainted with its activities. He tried to find out what the members did in the assembly room and asked one of the participants but was told, "I could tell you many things, but if I should, my life would pay the forfeiture." On another occasion, Robinson saw John Taylor, one of the Twelve Apostles and managing editor of the *Times and Seasons*, standing in the door of the assembly room at the top of the stairway wearing a turban and a white robe, with a sword in his hand. Robinson concluded that he represented "the 'cherubims and flaming sword which was placed at the east of the Garden of Eden, to guard the tree of life.'"⁵⁶

Between the introduction of these temple ceremonies in the Red Brick Store's assembly room of May 4, 1842, and Joseph and Hyrum Smith's deaths on June 27, 1844, more than sixty men and women were taught the rituals.⁵⁷ After the death of the prophet about fifteen additional people received endowments from the Twelve Apostles, but during this time the prophet's widow restricted the use of the store's upper room, and those involved in the rites had to find other accommodations.⁵⁸

While these religious teachings first practiced in the Red Brick Store changed the doctrinal outlook of some of the movement's membership, one towering incident occurred there that has only recently achieved prominence. This event was, of course, the blessing of Joseph Smith III by his father as his successor to the prophetic office. On Wednesday, January 17, 1844, Joseph Smith called several church leaders to the assembly room in the store for a special meeting. Most of the Twelve Apostles were away on missions, but the local leaders and other general authorities in the city were asked to attend. Among those present were Joseph and Hyrum Smith, John Taylor, Willard Richards, Newel K. Whitney, Reynolds Cahoon, Alpheus Cutler, Ebenezer Robinson, George J. Adams, W.W. Phelps, and John M. Bernhisel, all important individuals in the church's complex hierarchy. The prophet seated his son in a chair in the assembly room, and Newel K. Whitney anointed his head with oil in a solemn assembly. Then Joseph Smith pronounced a special blessing on him. The recently discovered text of this blessing was recorded by Thomas Bullock, a clerk in the store. It read:

Blessed of the Lord is my son Joseph, who is called the third, – for the Lord knows the integrity of his heart, and loves him, because of his faith, and righteous desires. And, for this cause, has the Lord raised him up; – that the promises made to the fathers might be fulfill-

ed, even that the anointing of the progenitor shall be upon the head of the son, and his seed after him, from generation to generation. For he shall be my successor to the Presidency of the High Priesthood: a Seer, and a Revelator, and a Prophet, unto the Church; which appointment belongeth to him by blessing, and also by right.

Verily, thus saith the Lord; if he abides in me his days shall be lengthened upon the earth, but, if he abides not in me, I, the Lord, will receive him in an instant, unto myself.

When he is grown, he shall be a strength to his brethren, and a comfort to his mother. Angels shall minister unto him, and he will be wafted as on eagle's wings, and be as wise as serpents, even a multiplicity of blessings shall be his.

Amen.⁵⁹

Apparently, the next Sunday, January 21, 1844, Joseph Smith gave a public address on "sealing the hearts of the fathers to the children and the hearts of the children to the fathers," and made an offhand reference to this blessing.⁶⁰ Clearly, Smith intended that his son would succeed him in becoming president of the church. Later, on April 6, 1860, Joseph Smith III accepted the position that his father had foreordained, becoming president of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Certainly, the Red Brick Store served Nauvoo as much more than a place in which to shop and purchase commodities. It was a location for social activities, both those formally sponsored and those that arose as people gathered in the store for gossip and interaction. It was a place where portions of the city's populace met for civic, fraternal, and cultural affairs. Most important, however, it was the location where Smith developed and taught his peculiarly frontier American doctrinal ideas.

3

From Decline to Destruction, 1844-1890

After the murder of Joseph Smith by a mob on June 27, 1844, the Red Brick Store quickly declined in importance. During the next forty-six years the store served the community in various capacities, but it was never again the center of the community the way it had been during the heyday of Mormon Nauvoo. It remained the property of the Smith family throughout this period, and they tried to operate a store there during the latter 1840s, but this proved unsuccessful. Thereafter, it seems to have been closed down for a while prior to 1860, when its upper rooms began to be used as a chapel by the Nauvoo branch of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, an organization which Joseph Smith III headed. Sometime during the 1870s, the Red Brick Store, apparently, was all but abandoned and by the mid-1880s had been vandalized and boarded up. In 1890, the Smith family sold the building to local businessmen who had it razed and used it to build other structures in the town.

Early on the morning of June 28, 1844, the news reached Nauvoo that a mob of over 100 men had stormed the jail at Carthage, about twenty miles from Nauvoo, where Joseph and Hyrum Smith had been incarcerated for charges ranging from riot to treason, and had murdered the brothers late the previous afternoon. Orrin Porter Rockwell, the prophet's close friend and chief bodyguard, announced the tragic news as he galloped through the city on his mare. Anson Call reported hearing Rockwell yell, "Joseph is killed – they have killed him! Goddamn them! They have killed him!"¹ During the course of the day details of the murders came out. The lynchings had been committed by a band of carefully organized conspirators who had taken advantage of a lack of sufficient guards at the jail, overpowering them and assassinating the Mormon leaders.²

Apparently, not long after this Emma Smith ceased operations in the Red Brick Store. On October 18, 1844, she wrote to Joseph L. Heywood, a friend, offering the store for rent. "The Brick Store will be empty next week," Emma wrote, "and I would like well if you could find it advantageous to your interest to fill it with goods and groceries this fall, the rent will be low. I think it a good time to commence an establishment of that kind now as there is a number of the merchants about to leave here soon."³

Whether or not Heywood accepted Emma Smith's offer is unknown, but it appears that the store was almost certainly closed by the fall of 1846 when the Smith family went to Fulton, about 100 miles from Nauvoo, while lawlessness reigned in the city following the Mormon exodus. The store was probably not

reopened until the summer of 1848. The circumstances surrounding the store's reopening have been recalled by Joseph Smith III, by this time fifteen years old. In late 1847, Emma Smith, the prophet's widow, had remarried to Lewis Crum Bidamon. Every evidence points to the couple's pleasant marriage, and while young Joseph III revered his dead father, he certainly respected his new stepfather. He recorded his impressions in his memoirs:

He was a man of strong likes and dislikes, passionate, easily moved to anger, but withal ordinarily affable in manner, decidedly hospitable, and generous in disposition. He made friends easily, but, unfortunately for him, lost them quite as easily. His love for intoxicating liquors and his lack of religious convictions were the two most serious drawbacks to the happiness of our home, and tended to color materially the after-events of our lives.⁴

While young Smith may not have fully approved of his stepfather's habits when compared to his perception of his natural father, the two developed an amiable rapport if not a genuine affection over the years.⁵

Major Bidamon, known to all by his rank in the Illinois State Militia, was determined to see that his stepchildren were given a fair start in business careers. As a result, Bidamon was directly responsible for Joseph Smith III's first halting entrance into the business world at the Red Brick Store in 1848. When he married Emma Smith, Bidamon was the partner of a Mr. Hartwell in a drygoods business in Nauvoo. They subsequently dissolved this partnership, but Bidamon used his influence to get young Joseph III a job as clerk in Hartwell's store. Smith, by this time a teenager of average height, striking dark eyes, an unruly mass of dark hair, and the beginnings of a scraggly beard, began clerking for Hartwell in early 1848, and remained there learning the trade until the summer.⁶

After Joseph had mastered the art of storekeeping sufficiently to operate without supervision, the major proposed that he and Emma reopen the Red Brick Store with young Smith as manager. The parents each invested \$1,000, renovated the store, bought a fresh supply of stock, and established Joseph as the proprietor. Bidamon thought at the time that it would be a fine contribution to the youth's start in the business world, but, unfortunately, the venture failed. Crucial to its success was Smith's ability to enter the grain trade on the Mississippi, and although Joseph was involved in the local grain trade, acting as an agent for a few St. Louis brokers, he was unable to break into the market in any significant way because of a cartel that controlled the majority of the trade on the river around Nauvoo.⁷ A second difficulty that made the store unprofitable was the exodus of the majority of the Mormons. The main business district of Nauvoo had moved away from the limestone flat, where the Red Brick Store stood, onto the bluffs overlooking the river where the majority of the non-Mormons had lived. Hence, the store only attracted those persons who were looking for goods more cheaply than could be had elsewhere. When these bargain-hunters appeared, Joseph was

unwilling to dicker over the price. While Bidamon did not hesitate to mark down a commodity to move it off the shelf, Joseph would insist upon receiving the original price. Soon Joseph had few customers and simply could not compete effectively. It took Joseph and his supporters several months to learn that the Red Brick Store would not be profitable. When Joseph finally closed its doors in 1849, he did so sadly but with the determination to move into business in other areas.⁸

One important event took place while Joseph Smith III was operating the Red Brick Store. On the night of October 8-9, 1848, an arsonist set fire to the Nauvoo Temple. Joseph III remembered that he was sleeping in the upper room of the store, trying to protect the building from burglars, when he awoke to the sounds of fire bells and confused voices on the street below. He staggered out of bed and ran to the north window, where he saw a colossal fire on the cliffs above the Nauvoo flats. Smith opened the store's window and called to John Mason, a neighbor whom he saw running toward the fire, asking what had happened. Mason told him that the Temple was burning and that the townspeople were assembling bucket brigades to fight the fire. Smith dressed and ran to his mother's home, only to find that his stepfather was already on the hill organizing bucket brigades. Since the Smith property would be easy prey for thieves or arsonists during the fire, Joseph decided that under the circumstances it was better for him to stay in the area, just in case the fire had been set as a diversion. The firefighters worked throughout the night, and although they prevented the fire from spreading to other buildings in the main business section, the Temple was all but destroyed.⁹ The most impressive symbol of the Mormonism that had made Nauvoo an important city was destroyed by an arsonist, Joseph Agnew.

Evidence concerning the use of the Red Brick Store between 1848 and 1860 is scarce. Perhaps it was rented by the Smith family as either a store or a home when someone could be found who would maintain it properly. Most likely, however, Emma and her husband closed the building during the majority of these years.

On April 6, 1860, Joseph Smith III accepted a call to assume the presidency of the second largest branch of Mormonism, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. Afterwards he returned to Nauvoo, continuing his secular affairs during the week and on Sundays holding religious services for any who would listen. During the remainder of 1860, Smith worked to raise a following in the area, criss-crossing Hancock County to visit with the old Saints who had remained. Joseph held many of his first church services in the two-story block-house, known as the "Homestead," his family had inhabited upon first moving to Nauvoo in 1839, then in a brick home once owned by Nauvoo Stake President William Marks.¹⁰ Finally, by the fall of 1860 the tiny group of Latter Day Saints had become large enough to require a true meeting hall, whereupon Smith fixed up the upper room of the Red Brick Store. By 1864, Smith's "Olive Branch," as the members affectionately called the Nauvoo church, had a membership of seventy-five and was growing steadily.¹¹



The last public address of Joseph Smith, June, 1844. Courtesy of Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.



Joseph Smith III as a youth in 1846. Courtesy of Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.



Joseph Smith III, c. 1860. Courtesy of Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.

Without question, many of the members of this group meeting in the Red Brick Store were present because of the attraction of having the Reorganized Church's president in their midst rather than because of a devotion to the religion. In 1865, Joseph Smith III made plans to move from Nauvoo to Plano, Illinois, to take up duties in what was essentially the church's headquarters. By January, 1866, he had removed his family, and immediately thereafter attendance at the services in the Red Brick Store dwindled. Joseph's mother remarked just a few months later that the branch's "meetings are rather poorly attended. We have some members that are not much account. The outsiders have left off attending. . . . They miss my boys."¹² By 1880, this branch had virtually ceased to exist, and the Red Brick Store was no longer needed for its activities.¹³

While the Red Brick Store was certainly occupied as a church until the 1870s, evidence indicates that at least by the 1880s it had fallen into disuse. Physical evidence found during the archaeological excavation suggested that it was used as a haybarn, a common fate for abandoned buildings in a rural setting. Certainly by 1885 its windows had been boarded over.¹⁴ Clearly the store had outlived its usefulness.

By 1890, the Smith family, still in possession of the Red Brick Store, had no further use for the building and sold the materials used to build the store. The *Nauvoo Independent* of July 4, 1890, carried the following notice: "Hudson brothers [owners of a local butcher shop] bought the old Mormon store on the river bank west of the Mansion House of Joseph Smith. They purchased it for the bricks that are in it and will tear it down." Another item in the same newspaper for August 8, 1890, noted: "The Mormon Church on the river bank west of the Mansion House recently purchased by the Hudson brothers is being torn down. One by one the old landmarks go."¹⁵ Curiously, the use of the term "Mormon Church" in referring to the Red Brick Store in 1890 undoubtedly meant that Nauvooans remembered best the years that the store was being used by Joseph Smith III's Olive Branch as a church.

Apparently, the Hudson Brothers used the brick from the store to build other structures in Nauvoo. Certainly, they constructed a fine new meat market on Mulholland Street in the main business district with some of the brick. Later, this building was incorporated into part of the Nauvoo Hotel. Thereafter, the foundation of the Red Brick Store was all that remained. It was used as a trash dumping pit until the 1930s.¹⁶

The years between 1844 and the building's destruction in 1890 were ones of intermittent use and abandonment. Gradually, the forces of time wore upon the building, and it was no longer habitable. When this became the case, the Smith

family disposed of the property and the Red Brick Store was razed, its basement and foundation used as a trash dump for several decades. Later, however, the store would be resurrected by the Reorganized Church as a reconstructed historic site.

4

Store Reconstruction

From 1890, when the Hudson Brothers had Joseph Smith's Red Brick Store demolished to provide bricks for their meat market on Mulholland Street, until 1979, when the reconstruction of the store was dedicated, the site remained essentially a large hole in the ground. Then, in the latter 1970s, the Joseph Smith Historic Center, an historic site operated in Nauvoo by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, undertook a reconstruction of the store. By 1980, the building was open to the public, a major step toward bringing to life the economic, political, and religious experiences of Mormon Nauvoo for the thousands of visitors to the town every year.

When most of the Mormon citizens of Nauvoo walked down Parley Street to begin the great trek to Utah in early 1846, Nauvoo became two towns. The part located on the cliffs overlooking the Mississippi River was the so-called "Gentile" settlement, while the old Mormon community was ensconced on the flat. Throughout the years since the departure of the Mormons, Nauvoo has remained essentially two towns both in geography and attitude. The Hill, where the businesses and restaurants are located, has undergone the basic physical changes that are normal as each generation makes its own mark by replacing old buildings with new ones. By contrast, the Flat has remained largely devoid of any new major construction not related to historic site restoration.

Although the largest body of the Latter Day Saints moved westward under Brigham Young in 1846, an important dissenting element remained in Nauvoo, the widow and children of Joseph Smith. Emma Smith clashed with Young over the theological, secular, and administrative direction of the church between the time of her husband's death and the exodus, and because of these differences refused to travel to Utah.¹ Instead, she remained in Nauvoo, remarried, and raised her children outside of Mormonism's influence. In time, the family united with the Reorganized Church, a more moderate form of the religion. On April 6, 1860, Emma's oldest son, Joseph Smith III, assumed the presidency of this organization; during a 54-year career he guided it from the standing of an insignificant sect to that of a viable denomination.²

Both the Reorganized Church, and the larger Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, based in Salt Lake City, Utah, have important theological and organizational roots in Nauvoo. Both have been interested in Nauvoo as a means of interpreting favorably their own religious history to the world. Both also look upon historic site restoration as a method of interpreting their peculiar stories.

Frederick Madison Smith, grandson of Joseph Smith, and president of the Reorganization between 1914 and 1946, was the first general authority within the movement to identify the possibilities inherent in an historic site program. Accordingly, he arranged for the transfer of some twenty acres of historically significant property in Nauvoo – property that included the two homes of Joseph Smith, the block house known as the “Homestead” and the impressive two-story frame structure known as the “Nauvoo Mansion”; the Nauvoo House, originally intended as a hotel where people would stay while visiting the city; the Smith family cemetery, and the site of the Red Brick Store – to the presiding bishop of the Reorganized Church. The presiding bishop, as the chief financial officer for the organization, was charged with the task of maintaining the physical property.³ While the bishop carried out the maintenance of these properties, little was done to interpret them until after World War II. During the late 1940s and 1950s the Nauvoo Mansion and Homestead were open to the public, but the professional quality of the interpretive program was primitive. At best, the Smith property in Nauvoo was interpreted by believers as a religious shrine, an approach that neglected the significance of the experience of the Saints at Nauvoo for American history and religious development. Later, during the 1960s, this interpretation began to change in response to some important activities of others interested in Nauvoo history.

In 1962, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints organized a not-for-profit corporation, Nauvoo Restoration, to restore and interpret Mormon buildings in the city for visitors. J. Leroy Kimball, M.D., the driving force behind the creation of Nauvoo Restoration, conceived of a major program that would challenge colonial Williamsburg in size, scope, and value as an historic program. The corporation purchased about 2,000 acres in the city; brought in an outstanding collection of historians, archaeologists, restoration specialists, curators, interpreters, and craftsmen; and began the work of recreating Mormon Nauvoo. The restoration of Heber C. Kimball’s home began this effort in the early part of the 1950s, work undertaken by Dr. Kimball privately because the building held personal significance—Heber Kimball was one of his ancestors. By the end of 1894, Nauvoo Restoration had completed more than twenty restorations, had built an impressive visitors’ center, and had developed effective interpretive programs for its facilities.⁴

Although the Reorganized Church lacked an individual with the vision and drive of J. Leroy Kimball and possessed neither the zeal nor the financial resources to proclaim their story, the church did struggle throughout the 1960s and 1970s to create authentic restorations and to build a viable interpretive program. Kenneth E. Stobaugh, a member of the Quorum of Seventy, a priesthood office in the church oriented toward missionary activity, became the director of the Joseph Smith Historic Center in 1959 and brought to the center a degree of profes-

sionalism it had not experienced before. He and a longtime associate, Dr. F. Mark McKiernan, instituted several innovative programs to accelerate the quality of the center's historic site program. The Reorganized Church sponsored in 1970 the first annual summer archaeological excavation by the Field School of the University of Missouri-Columbia on the Smith property, and in 1973 instituted a summer internship program for the training of future museum professionals.⁵

These activities, along with those conducted by Nauvoo Restoration, fostered the development of a plan for further expansion for the Joseph Smith Historic Center. A major aspect of this expansion was the reconstruction of the Red Brick Store.⁶ During the years since its demolition, the basement of the store, with its limestone ribs, half falling walls, and stairwell, had been famous in Nauvoo, though not for its historic significance. At night, the area was used by local neekers who lacked cars to take them to more distant places of seclusion. Little of note happened at the ruin during the day with the exception of an occasional tourist falling into it.⁷

Although some had talked previously about the possibility of reconstructing the Red Brick Store, it was not until 1969 that such an activity was given any serious consideration. In that year, F. Mark McKiernan found a listing in the card catalog at the University of Iowa describing the microfilm of the "Day Book of Joseph Smith, Jr., 1842-1844, of Nauvoo, Illinois." The original of this manuscript was located in the Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids, Iowa. McKiernan believed at the time that he had found an unknown Joseph Smith journal for the last two years of the Mormon prophet's life, but upon reviewing the microfilm, discovered it contained the financial accounts of the Red Brick Store. Kenneth E. Stobaugh, director of the Joseph Smith Historic Center, was pleased to learn of the existence of this daybook, in part because he knew of its importance if the church ever decided to rebuild the Red Brick Store.

As an aid for the reconstruction of the store, the daybook was invaluable. First, it contained a complete inventory of the store during its most historic period. One could tell exactly what Joseph Smith and others sold from it. The ledger verified that the store handled certain uniquely Mormon merchandise, for example, *Books of Mormon*, *Doctrine and Covenants*, and Emma Smith's hymnal. Second, the daybook also demonstrated the importance of the store as a business center in Nauvoo, detailing important land transactions and business agreements. Third, much about the religious society of Nauvoo was described in the daybook with its accounts of transactions concerning the Nauvoo House and Nauvoo Temple, the loaning of funds to destitute Saints, the sales made to church leaders, and the credit or barter systems in operation. Finally, the daybook gave the names of the customers, their purchases, and the dates of sales.⁸

Another major step toward the eventual reconstruction of the Red Brick Store came in 1972 when the University of Missouri-Columbia brought its summer field school to the Joseph Smith Historic Center for an archaeological excavation of the store's ruins, the third summer this organization had excavated historic ruins at the center. In 1970, the field school excavated the site of the Joseph Smith stable

and in 1971 it searched the Joseph Smith homestead property for historic foundations and artifacts.⁹

The leader of this excavation, Professor Robert T. Bray, brought with him a field supervisor and six students. Augmented by summer guides from the Joseph Smith Historic Center and volunteers, this team systematically removed and analyzed soil and artifacts. The foundation of the store measured 41.1 feet north and south; its width was 23.1 feet east and west. The excavation confirmed historical information about the store's size, and yielded valuable information about its room measurements, placement of shelves, colors used in the building, brick size and type. Ultimately, the information presented by the excavation team confirmed and added to the historical description given by Joseph Smith of the interior of his store when he wrote to Edward Hunter on January 5, 1842.¹⁰

At the same time, Bray and McKiernan, the latter working as research historian for the archaeological project, analyzed important visual documentation of the store's exterior. The Joseph Smith Historic Center possessed in its collection a photograph, taken *circa* 1890, that showed the store front and west side. This illustration answered several important questions. The picture was clear enough to count the brick, giving researchers accurate data about the building's size and form. It also depicted clearly the front windows and the stone work of the building, allowing researchers to determine the size and type of all materials. Bray also noticed that some of the brick had a dark stain running diagonally from a chimney to the lintels of the two westernmost windows.¹¹ This indicated a flue and determined the heating system of the building, iron stoves located in the middle of the floor with an overhead pipe extending to the wall.

Stobaugh found a second photograph of the store dating about the same time. This photograph showed the store front and its east side. Together, these pictures indicated that there were no windows on the sides of the store; the sides were used for shelves to store merchandise. This photograph also showed a second chimney on the roof near the river. With these two pictures, researchers had evidence of what three sides of the building looked like, but no one could find any pictorial representations of the back of the store. Archaeological excavations revealed that there had been a back door to the store, as well as one to the basement, but the question of size and appearance of these and windows remained. Joseph Smith had remarked that the view of the river from the window of his upstairs office was beautiful, but how many windows were there and where were they located?

The investigators were stumped until they found a riverside view of the Red Brick Store in a painting by David H. Smith. David, the youngest son of the prophet, actually born five months after his father's death, was a sensitive individual who early cultivated poetic and artistic talents. Later, he became one of the leaders of the Reorganization, beloved for his charm and manner. His painting entitled "Bend in the River," painted in 1868, showed the top floor of the river side of the Red Brick Store in the distance. It depicted three regularly spaced identical windows that matched those of the store's front.¹²

With the completion of the archaeological excavation and the concurrent his-

torical research, a great deal of the necessary information for the reconstruction of the store had been collected. There was photographic documentation from three sides of what the store looked like about 1890, and a painting of the remaining side. The store's financial ledger gave detailed information concerning the goods stocked and sold, and the management of the operation. Eyewitness descriptions of the interior in 1842 matched the hard evidence that Bray's archaeological investigations produced. Certainly, by May of 1973 the majority of the information needed in a reconstruction of the Red Brick Store had been assembled and was ready for application.

The reconstruction of the Red Brick Store sprouted full-grown within the hierarchy of the Reorganized Church during the latter 1970s after F. Mark McKiernan was hired to prepare a master plan for the church's historic properties. Since McKiernan, a well-trained academic historian, was working at the organization's headquarters in 1977, Duane E. Couey, a counselor in the first presidency, asked him to assist Apostle C. Eugene Austin with a study of church history. When the assigned books had been read, McKiernan somewhat jokingly suggested that to finish the course Apostle Austin could either write a lengthy term paper or they could take a field trip with their wives to Nauvoo to witness firsthand the Mormon heritage of the community. The apostle opted for the latter.

Not long after returning from the Nauvoo trip, McKiernan and his family were invited to the Austin home for a social gathering. Over ice cream and strawberries Austin suggested that he was interested in having the church do something special for its sesquicentennial in 1980, adding that perhaps a restoration of an historic site would be appropriate. McKiernan seconded the idea, and mentioned that the Red Brick Store was a likely candidate because of its economic and religious significance. It had been a place where Joseph Smith blessed his son to be the next leader of the church. This son, Joseph Smith III, became the president of the Reorganization; consequently this blessing held great importance for members of the movement. McKiernan and Austin decided to pursue the matter, intent on gaining approval for the expenditure of approximately \$300,000 for the Red Brick Store's restoration.

The day thereafter, Austin went to see Wallace B. Smith, the president-designate of the Reorganization, about the possibility of such a reconstruction project in celebration of the sesquicentennial. Austin suggested that the project would require the full support of the first presidency, that it would serve as a lasting tribute to the heritage of the movement, and that it would allow the movement to interpret more fully its history. Wallace B. Smith endorsed the program in principle.

Next, Austin and McKiernan visited Presiding Bishop Francis E. Hansen to determine the potential for funding the program. Hansen, who had a deep appreciation for the physical heritage of the movement, favored the project; however, he had no budget for this \$300,000 item. Austin asked the bishop if he would ac-

cept the reconstruction of the store as a gift to the church from individual members; it would not cost the movement anything until after reconstruction when the church would maintain and interpret the building. Finally, all the permissions were obtained, and McKiernan was appointed project director to rebuild the Red Brick Store beginning January 1, 1978.

The first business of the reconstruction program, of necessity, was the raising of the \$300,000 required for building the store. Apostle Austin, who had been a professional fund-raiser before entering full-time service with the Reorganized Church, developed the basic fund-raising technique. His plan called for the commitment of a limited number of individuals to give \$30,000 each over a three-year period. McKiernan suggested that ten individuals were sufficient to carry out the reconstruction; however, Apostle Austin said he was partial to the number twelve.¹³ Accordingly, McKiernan and Austin began the recruitment of twelve "Friends of the Red Brick Store." During the next several months the twelve friends committed to the project, some of them anonymously. This monograph has been dedicated to them as a group, in partial recognition of their support of the Red Brick Store reconstruction.

By October, 1978, all the funds necessary for the reconstruction has been secured. During this period McKiernan and Austin sponsored three meetings of the Friends. The first was held at the home of Wallace B. Smith in March of 1978, just before the church's biennial conference, where the Friends enjoyed a quiet dinner with the soon-to-be president of the church. In October, 1978, a weekend meeting of the Friends was held on site at Nauvoo to explain in detail the reconstruction project. The last meeting of the Friends occurred in October of 1979 when the building was dedicated.

With funding secured, McKiernan began the reconstruction process. He secured a team of architectural, curatorial, and historical professionals who had the capability of making the Red Brick Store one of the finest historic sites of its type. McKiernan served as historian; George A. Lund headed a team of architects consisting of Thomas Gibson of Lee's Summit, Missouri, and Robert Mack of Minneapolis, Minnesota; Irwin Fender, a contractor from Independence, Missouri, was hired to build the structure; and Russell W. Pearson represented the church's presiding bishopric in the project. Additionally, McKiernan assembled the assistance of several historic site specialists to provide expertise in early nineteenth century buildings and artifacts: James Cope, director of Earlham College's museum program at Conner Prairie, Indiana; Kenneth E. Stobaugh, director of the Joseph Smith Historic Center; and Robert T. Bray, archaeologist from the University of Missouri-Columbia. Finally, the head of the Reorganized Church's legal department, Thomas Bennett, assisted with the project.

In February of 1978 these people met in Nauvoo for a consultants' conference to chart the course of the reconstruction. From the outset all agreed that the Red

Brick Store project had to surpass tests of stringent historical authenticity for both structure and artifacts, while meeting the standards of modern building codes. One of the basic questions to be answered at the consultants' conference was what to do with the existing foundation. Some of the purists wanted to have it salvaged with an iron cage to support the rest of the building. Others thought this approach would be too expensive, the foundation would be less firm, and the potential for flooding too great. Instead, they wanted to use the old stones to build a new foundation. By the end of the conference, the latter approach had won out. The consultants also agreed to place utilities and other modern conveniences in the building but to make them as unobtrusive as possible by hiding their presence.

After the conclusion of the consultants' conference, McKiernan and a few other key individuals worked with George Lund to match the historical documents and archaeological findings with his architectural drawings of the store. There was a real concern that not only the features of the building were accurate, but that they had the feel of 1842. For example, as the work progressed, Lund had the paint chips found during the foundation's excavation analyzed chemically for color and texture, and then matched the paint proposed for the interior of the store to these findings. Without question, the red interior in the rebuilt store was the same as the red that Joseph Smith described to Edward Hunter.

Irwin Fender and his son, Paul, owned the construction company that built the store. Beginning in October, 1978, Fender and his crew began work on the building. They took tremendous pride in their work. As Reorganized Church members, the Red Brick Store held greater significance for Fender and his crew than it might have otherwise. At no time did the contractor consider this an ordinary construction project; indicative of this was the firm's diligence in completing the reconstruction ahead of schedule and under budget. Historic reconstruction requires diligent attention to small detail and extra work that a modern building does not necessitate, and this crew accepted the challenge and produced a superior product. Recognizing this, Wallace B. Smith, who had become president of the Reorganized Church in April of 1978, wrote the crew a personal letter expressing his gratitude for their interest and quality of work.

This does not mean that the reconstruction progressed without any problems. For instance, F. Mark McKiernan made a mistake when he chose the glass for the store's windows. Seeking to duplicate the shimmering effect of the nineteenth century's poured glass, McKiernan contracted for the production of artificially duplicated panes. When it arrived, this glass was too distorted and had to be rejected. The only appropriate substitute was produced by a firm in France, and its purchase would require an additional expenditure of \$1,800. When the building committee hesitated making this purchase, Irwin Fender stepped in and personally bought the glass and had his men install it. He told McKiernan that he wanted this reconstruction done right with no exceptions.

During the construction, Russell Pearson located a key that had been used at the Red Brick Store. Seeking historical accuracy, the building committee searched for an 1840s lock that it would fit but found none among the various firms that

produce that type of product. Again, working to ensure that the reconstruction was well done, Irwin Fender contracted with the Block and Block Company of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the construction of a brass lock modeled after antebellum styles for use on the building. The key and the lock were important to the feel the Red Brick Store gave to its visitors. McKiernan decided that a fitting commemoration for those intimately involved in the reconstruction project would be a copy of the Red Brick Store's key mounted in a handsome shadow box. Eventually, twenty-five of these commemorative items were produced and at a formal ceremony on the evening of October 13, 1979, were given to the Friends of the Red Brick Store and other important participants by President Wallace B. Smith and his father, W. Wallace Smith, former president of the Reorganized Church.

Meantime, as the reconstruction of the building progressed, McKiernan and artifact consultants began purchasing artifacts and furnishings. Some of the pieces to be displayed in the store were already in Nauvoo. The Joseph Smith Historic Center owned the desk of Bishop Newel K. Whitney and two display cases that had been used in the store during the prophet's lifetime. These were moved to the building after reconstruction. McKiernan also contacted antique dealers and reproduction companies for artifacts and furnishings for the store. He, along with Kenneth E. Stobaugh and George Lund, visited Old Sturbridge Village, Sturbridge, Massachusetts, to confer with the nineteenth century restoration experts there. These individuals assisted greatly in the acquisition of 1840s merchandise.

McKiernan and his colleagues also relied on the expertise of Pete and Tacie Campbell of Galena, Illinois, in the acquisition of 1840s Upper Mississippi River furniture. The most difficult artifacts to find were the two iron stoves used in the building. With the cooperation of officials from the Old Vandalia State House, located in Vandalia, Illinois, Pete Campbell was able to obtain on loan an authentic stove used in the state during the Mormon period. He had it sent to a Galena, Illinois, foundry where it was dismantled and duplicated before return. One of the replicas was placed in the main room on the first floor and the other went into the upper room.

In October, 1979, the Red Brick Store was dedicated in a formal ceremony. It was an impressive reconstruction, adhering to the accepted standards for historical authenticity and presenting a very satisfying forum for the teaching of the Latter Day Saint experience in 1840s Nauvoo. During the years since its reconstruction, the store has become a part of the popular culture of the town. Many of the people visiting historic Nauvoo make it a part of their tour. It has also become a significant part of the tourist trade. Most souvenir shops have photographs, prints, postcards, cross-stitch kits, t-shirts, and refrigerator magnets for sale depicting the store. The building's popularity, however, arises from its significance in Mormon history. It means different things to different people, of course, but it encapsulates more than any other historic site in the town the triumph and

tragedy, the beauty and horror, the secular authority and the spiritual experience of Mormon Nauvoo. Some undoubtedly perceive the Red Brick Store as little more than an exceptional reconstruction. Many of those who trace their religious commitments to Joseph Smith, however, perceive it as something more. The Reorganized Church honors it as the location where Joseph Smith III was blessed as successor to the presidency of the movement by his father. Many members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints recognize the building as the place where the prophet first taught temple ceremonies and organized the Female Relief Society. For those involved in the many sects of Mormonism, the Red Brick Store can be understood as a place where events critical to their heritage happened. All who see the reconstructed store can agree with the prophet's 1842 statement that there was a beautiful view of the river from his office window.

5

Red Brick Store Daybook

Without question, the most important document bearing upon the history of the Red Brick Store was the daybook of transactions kept there between June 25, 1842, and June 23, 1844. This first week's entries for the daybook – the original is located in the Masonic Library at Cedar Rapids, Iowa, and microfilm and photocopies of the original can be obtained in many research libraries maintaining large Mormon holdings – have been transcribed without alteration or annotation and reprinted here. Each entry contained an account number, the name of the purchaser, whether it was a cash or credit transaction, whether it was a purchase from the store or a credit to the individual, the item exchanging hands, and the cost in either dollars, cents, or bits. The division of the dollar into the old style bits used by the Spanish for their doubloons, one-eighth of the total, was not uncommon during the early nineteenth century. In the daybook, whenever one sees a number followed immediately by a slash, the price has been charged in bits. For example, a 16/ equals \$2.00, a 12/ equals \$1.50 and a 6/ equals 75¢. On some occasions, the clerk entered a purchase in both bits and cents, designated by a number separated by a slash from another number. Thus, an entry that read 2/6 would be translated as two bits, 6¢ or 31¢. To aid in reading the daybook, we have compiled the following list of unusual abbreviations and initials:

Cash	Dr
Credit	Crt
V O	Verbal Order
r	ream
C	Cloth
Pr	Pair
Hkf	Handkerchief

Thursday Nauvoo III June 25 1842

Alfred Brown	Dr
184 To Paid Man V O in Sugar	1.00
20 ^{lb} Sugar for Self	2.00 = 3.00

Sidney Roberts	Crt
192 By Order from John Taylor 16/	2.00

O.P. Rockwell	Dr
35 To 1 Bottel Opodeldue	.19

Margaret Butterfield for Husband		Dr
26	To Paid P. Garner V O	\$3.00
<hr/>		
Aaron Johnson		Dr
142	To Paid Sister Michel V O	\$1.95
<hr/>		
J C Kingsbury		Dr
175	To 7 ^{lb} Sugar @ 10 ^c	.70
	2 ^{lb} Coffee @ 1/6	.38 = 1.08
<hr/>		
N K Whitney		Dr
177	To 3 doz Eggs @ 6 ^c	.18
	To 2 10/16 ^{lb} Butter @ 8 ^c	.21 = .39
<hr/>		
Nauvoo House		Dr
182	To Paid Order to John Fido	1.00
	To Paid Order to Jn ^o Robinson	1.00
	To ½ 2r paper for G Miller	.16 = 2.16
<hr/>		
John Wilkie		Dr
127	To Paid Order to Harvy Green	1.50
	To 1 Rim Lock 16/	2.00 = 3.50
<hr/>		
W & W Law		Dr
185	To Paid Order to Jn ^o Snider	2.00 = 2.00
<hr/>		
John Taylor		Dr
128	To Paid Order to Bearer	2.00 = 2.00
<hr/>		
William Garner		Dr
189	To Paid Order to Seth Rigby	1.00
<hr/>		
E Robinson		Dr
200	To Paid Order to Levi Stewart	1.00
	To 1 Journal 16/- Ledger 3 of	5.75
	To 1 Day Book 30/	3.75
	To The above for Agriculture Society	\$10.50
<hr/>		

Saturday June 25 1842

Joseph Smith		Dr
178	To 1 Bunch Lacers	.35
	To 31½ yd factry @ 14 ^c wife	4.41
	To 9 yds Cor ^d Cotton @ 3/6	3.94

To 6 do pepper & Salt @ 3/	2.25
To 4 do do do @ 4/6	2.25
To 12 do Stripe Cotton @ 2/	3.00
To 4½ do do do @ 3/	1.69
To 4 do Gingham @ 3/3	1.63
To 2½ do Bleach factry @ 2/6	.75 = \$20.33

William Marks	Dr
183 To 18 ^{lb} Sugar @ 10¢	1.80
To 1 ^{lb} pepper 1/6	.19 = 1.99

James W. Rollins	Dr
188 To Order on Wolley for Hat	1.00

Temple Committee	Dr
202 To 32 ^{lb} Sugar for R Cahoon	4.00
To 1 Rim Lock del ^d man for Higby	2.00 = 6.00

Cornelius P. Lott	Dr
176 To 27 ^{lb} Bacon = 5¢	1.35
To Paid Order to Wm Parker	2.00 = 3.25

Edward Hunter	Dr
34 To 1 Rim Lock	\$2.00

Arthur Milliken	Dr
172 To Paid Alred for Rode Tax	1.00
To 4 yds Edgin @ 6¢	.25 = 1.25

Saml H Smith	Dr
193 To 1½ Bush Meal @ 3/	.56

Brigham Young	Dr
187 To 8 ^{lb} Salt @ 3 ^{ct}	.24

Monday June 27th 1842

Temple Committee	Dr
202 To 4 ^{lb} Nails for R. Cahoon	.50

Theodore Turley	Dr
199 To 4 ^{lb} Sugar per Daughter	.50

R. Hadlock	Dr	
179 To Paid Order to G. Wirick		2.00
<hr/>		
Ebenezer Robinson	Dr	
200 To Paid Order to Iron Works		.62
To Paid Order to Pierce Hopper		6.88 = 7.50
<hr/>		
John Regan	Dr	
197 To Paid Order to Bearer		2.12
<hr/>		
Willford Woodruff	Dr	
165 To Paid Order to bearer		1.85
<hr/>		
E. Robinson	Dr	
116 To Paid Order to W ^m Middleton		\$10.00
<hr/>		
Joseph W. Coolidge	Dr	
174 To Paid Order to James Easton		1.00
<hr/>		
Temple Committee	Dr	
202 To Paid Order to W Chapman		2.00
To Paid Order to Noah Packhard		1.50
To 1 2r paper for Higbee		.31 = 3.81
<hr/>		
Nauvoo House	Dr	
182 To Paid Order to Jo ^s Garlock		1.00
To Paid Order to E P Merriam		1.50
To Paid Order to James Bever		1.00
To Paid Order to Mathew Wilson		1.00
To Paid Order to Nuhless Welch		.50 = 5.00
To 6 yds Domestic pr E Miller @ 14		.54
To 10 yds fine Shirting @ 2/6		3.29
To 9 yds Stripe Drilling @ 2/		2.25
To Thread 16¢ Pins 1/		.29 = 6.67
To 4 ^{lb} Sugar pr G Miller		.50
		12.17
<hr/>		
Loren Walker	Dr	
56 To 1 Pr Suspenders 6/		.75
<hr/>		
Jas H Rollins	Dr	
188 To 1 pr Side Combs		.10
To 1 ^{lb} Beef @ 3		.33
To 1 ^{lb} Coffee		.19 = 62
<hr/>		

Tuesday June 28th 1842

N K Whitney	Dr	
177 To Paid Hird Girl		\$8.50

Agnes Smith	Dr	
204 To 2 Small Side Combs 16 ^c 6 ^{lb} Sugar 6/		.91

John Cleaveland	Dr	
29 To Paid Mssr Carter V O		1.25

Joseph Smith (Wife)	Dr	
178 To 6 yds Stripe Drillin @ 2/	1.50	
To 1½ yd Canvas C 2/ (for W Walker)	.38	
To 1½ doz Buttons @ 2/	.37	
To 14 yds Ribband @ 10 ^c	1.40	
To 2 yds Cambrick @ 1/6	.38	
To 4 ^{lb} spice @ 1/6	.75 = 4.78	

William Manhard	Dr	
16 To this amt del ^d Miles & Loveland		\$6.45

Joseph W Coolidge	Dr	
174 To Cash by the hand of J Smith		\$2.00

Willard Richards	Dr for Hayton	
201 To 1 Stock (Neck)	1.50	
To Comb also	.13 = 1.63	

W ^m Walker	Dr	
199 To 1 pr suspenders	.75	
To 1 Sheet Wadding	.13 = .88	

H.C. Kimball	Dr	
96 To 31 3/4 yds factry @ 14 ^c		\$4.45

W ^m Walker	Dr	
199 To 4 yds Gray Janes @ 5/	4.00	
To 3/4 Padding @ 4/	.38	
To 3/4 Canvass @ 2/	.19	
To 1½ doz Buttons @ 1/6	.88 = 4.85	

Printing Office	Dr for W Richards	
163 To 2 Rim Locks @ 16		\$4.00

	N K Whitney	Dr
177	To 4 Doz Eggs 2/ wire 1/	.38
	To 4 1/16 ^{lb} Butter @ 8	.33
	To 1 paper pin 1/	.12 = 83

	William Marks for Son Dr Henry	Dr
183	To 3 yds Striped drill @ 6/	1.50
	To Thread & Buttons	.19
	To 3/4 Drill @ 2/	.19 = 1.88

Thursday June 30th 1842

	Joseph Smith	Dr
178	To 1 Nars Card	.25
	To 16 ^{lb} Sugar @ 1/	2.00
	To Floor Plank	1.15
	To 3 Palm Leaf Hats @ 4/	1.50
	To 1 Col ^{lb} @ 2/6	.31
	To 8 ^{lb} Coffee @ 1/6	1.50
	To 1 Cain Hat 16/	2.00 = 8.71

	Nauvoo House (for H Miller)	Dr
182	To 10½ yds mix ^d drill @ 2/6	3.29
	To 1 Hkfs 4/	.50
	To 2 Doz Pant Buttens 1/	.13
	To 2 pr Butts @ 1/6	.38
	To 3 Doz Screws @ 1/	.37
	To Blk & Blue Thread 2/	.25
	To 1 Rim Lock 16/	2.00
	To 28½ yd Sheetting @ 14 ^c	3.99
	To 9 yds Bleach Cotton @ 2/	2.25
	To 3 Spool Cotton @ 8 ^c	.25
	To 1½ doz Buttons 1/6	.19
	To 3/4 Padding @ 4/	.38
	To 3/4 Canvass @ 2/ twist 1/6	.25 = 14.23
	Crt	

182	By Cash per H Miller	\$15.00
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	William Marks	Dr
183	To Paid Order for H Marks	\$7.00

	Dimick Huntington	Crt
118	By W ^m Marks Order for Goods	\$7.00

Dr	
To 5½ yds stripe Drill @ 2/	1.38
118 To Thread	.22
	1.50
<hr/>	
Arthur Millikin	Dr
172 To 1 Bush Corn 2/	.25
To 1/4 ^{lb} Satts @ 2/	.06 = .31
<hr/>	
R Hadlock	Dr
179 To 6 ^{lb} Whiting @ 10¢	.60
To 1 Doz pr Butts @ 1/3	1.88
To 1 Gros Screws 11/	1.38
To 1 do do 5/6	.69
To Paid Order to Mr Niewanger	5.00
To Paid Order to Bearer	10.00 = 19.55
<hr/>	
C.P. Lott	Dr
176 To 1 Steel Spade 12/	1.50
<hr/>	
Willard Richards (Clayton)	Dr
231 To 3½ ^{lb} Loaf Sugar 7/	.88
<hr/>	
W W Phelps	Dr
195 To 17 ^{lb} Pork @ 5¢	.85
To 2 3/4 ^{lb} Sugar @ 10¢	.28 = 1.13
<hr/>	
Agnes Smith	Dr
204 To ½ Bush, Meal	.19
<hr/>	
Joseph W Coolidge	Dr
174 To 1 Bush Meal 3/	.38
<hr/>	
V Knight pr Wife	Dr
190 To Combs 4/6 Buttons 2/6	.88
<hr/>	
Moses Smith	Dr
180 To 10 ^{lb} Sugar @ 1/	1.25
<hr/>	
William Walker	Dr
194 To 1 Sheet Wadding	.13
To 1 Skein Silk /6	.06 = .19
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	Edward Hunter	Dr
134	To 1 Tin Can (Bent)	1.00
	To do do do for E Martin	.75

	Dimick Huntington	Dr
71	To 2 Hats @ 2/6	.63

Friday July 1st 1842

	W & W Law	Dr
185	To Paid Order to B Brown	8.00
	To Paid Order to T D Turbull	37.00 = 45.00

	John Taylor	Dr
128	To Paid Order to Bearer	1.50

	Loren Walker	Dr
26	To 1 pr Shoes 18/	2.25

	Arthur Millikin	Dr
172	To 1 Pam Hat 4/	.50
	To Ribband	.10
	To 1 Bush meal	.25 = .85

	J.C. Kingsbury	Dr
175	To 1 yd Ribband	.10
	To 1 Hkf 4/ Penknife 3/	.88
	To 1 fine Comb 1/	.12
	To 2½ Yd Ribband @ 2/	.94
	To Artificials 3/	.38 = 2.42

	James H Rollins	Dr
188	To 8 ^{lb} Bacon 5	.40
	To 2½ ^{lb} Sugar @ 10	.25
	To 1 Box Blacking	.12 = .77

	John Snider	Dr
39	To this amt Paid for Oats	\$6.76

	Joseph Smith for Wife	Dr
178	To 2 Hkfs @ 3/	.75
	To 1 yd Bonnet Silk 4/	.50
	To 4 pr Gloves @ 2/6	1.25
	To 2 do Gloves @ 4/	1.00
	To 5 pr Shoes @ 13/	8.13

To 2 Combs @ 1/	.25
To 2 do 1/3	.15
To 1 Doz fine Combs 16/	2.00
To 6 pr Side Combs 3/	.38
To P ^d mrs Hillman (for VO for Emmy)	.79
To 2 Straw Bonnets @ 40/	10.00
To 1 do do @ 32/	4.00
To P ^d Tidwell for Emma Order	2.62 = 31.83

W W Phelps	Dr
195 To 1 fine Comb 1/4	.16

William Law for Wife	Dr
159 To 13 yds Calico @ 2/	3.25
To 2 do do @ 2/	.50
To 4 yds Stripe Drill @ 3/	1.50
To 9 Yds Calico @ 3/	3.38
To 4 Yds Gambon @ 5/	2.50
To 5 do Striped Drill @ 3/	1.88
To 1 pr Shoes 13/	1.63
To 1 pr Child Boots 8/	1.00
To 2 pr Red Boots @ 14/6	1.13
To Thread 2/ 1 pr Shoes 13/	1.87
To 10 Yds Bleach Cotton @ 2/6	3.13
To Cotton Hoes 5/	.62
To 2 Palm Leaf Hats @ 3/	.75 = \$23.14

William Backinstos	Dr
157 To 2 Neck Stocks 1-8/ 1-12/	\$2.50

S.B. Stoddard (pr V Knight)	Dr
94 To 12 Yds Muslin Dalance @ 5/	7.50
To 10 Yds Calico @ 2/	2.50
To 7 do Shirting @ 2/	1.75
To 6 do Calico @ 2/	1.50
To 2 do Calico @ 2/8	.67
To 4 pr Gloves @ 2/6	1.25
To 1 Willow Bonnet 10/	1.25
To 1 Paper Pin 1/	.13
To 3 Spools Thread	.25
To 1 Yd Silk Bonnet Lining 4/	.50
To 1½ Yd Ribband @ 2/	.38
To 1 Mans Stock	1.00 = 18.68
To 1¼ yd Blue Cloth for Self @ 50/	7.81
To 3/4 do Drill @ 2/	.19
To Silk 1/6 Button & Thread 1/	.32



Photograph of the Red Brick Store, c. 1890, showing the store front and west side. Courtesy of Kenneth E. Stobaugh.



Photograph of the Red Brick Store, c. 1885, showing the store front and east side. Courtesy of Kenneth E. Stobaugh.



Painting by David H. Smith in 1868 featuring a view of the river or south side of the Red Brick Store in the middle distance. Courtesy of Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints.



Archaeological excavation of the Red Brick Store site, 1972. Courtesy of F. Mark McKiernan.



The Red Brick Store being reconstructed. Courtesy of F. Mark McKiernan.



Main counter of the reconstructed Red Brick Store. Courtesy of F. Mark McKiernan.



Counting room of the reconstructed Red Brick Store. Courtesy of F. Mark McKiernan.

To Suspenders 6/	.75	
To 2 Blk & Hkf @ 12/	3.00 = 12.07	
	30.75	
<hr/>		
William Marks	Dr	
183 To 1 Cain Hat	2.00	
To 2 Hat for Boy @ 3/	.75 = 2.75	
<hr/>		
Nauvoo House pr P Haws	Dr Boy	
182 To 1 Hat 3/	.38	
To 1 pr Gloves pr H W Miller	.88 = 1.26	
<hr/>		
E Robinson	Dr	
200 To Paid Tomlinson V Order	.33	
<hr/>		
Adam Lightner	Dr	
180 To 1 Small Hat 2/6	.31	
<hr/>		
Temple Committee	Dr (for Cahoon & Higbee)	
202 To 179¼ Yd Sheeting @ 14¢	\$25.10	
To 60½ do do @ 16¢	9.68	
To 36 ¾ Stripe Cotton @ 2/	9.19	
To 40¼ yd do do @ 2/	10.00	
To 27¼ Yds Sattinett @ 6/	20.44	
To 273 Pant Buttons 9/	1.13	
To 1 Gros Shirt Buttons (Bone)	.50	
To 2 Doz Spools 16/	2.00	
To 1 ^{lb} Cot Thread 12/	1.50 = 79.60	
To Linnin Thread 7/- 12 pr Shoes 10/21	28.88	
<hr/>		
Willard Richards for J Young	Dr	
201 To Paid Boy 6/	.75	
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Joseph Smith	Dr	
178 To This Amt Goods for Mrs Thompson	2.10	
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D B Huntington	Dr	
171 To Goods for Wife	3.00	
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Saml H Smith	Dr	
193 To 1 Palm Leaf Hat 3/6	.44	
To 3 Yds Cot Cloth @ 2/	.75	
To 1 pr Shoes 12/	1.50	
To 1 do do 14/	1.75	

To do do 13/	1.63
To 4 ^{lb} Sugar 4/	.50
To 31 Yds Factry @ 16 ^c	1.76
To 27 Yd Calico @ 2/	6.75
To 3 pr Gloves @ 2/6	.94
To 1 yd Edgin @ 8 ^{ct}	.25
To 1 Bonnet 10/	1.25
To 2 Yds Ribband @ 1/4	.33
To 2½ Yd do @ 1/6	.40
To 2¼ Yd Check @ 2/	.56
To 1 fine Comb 1/	.13
To 1 Coars Comb 1/	.12
To 1 pr Side Combs /10	.10
To 3 Yds Linnon Drill @ 4/	1.50
To 3 Spools Cotton @ /6	.19 = 23.89

Nauvoo House pr Mrs Haws	Dr
182 To 3 pr Shoes @ 13/	4.88
To 1 pr Smal Shoes @ 8/	1.00
To 1 do do do @ 10/	1.25
To Paid J W Johnson on Nauvoo Note	21.00 = 28.13

William Marks	Dr (for Daught)
183 To Paid Agnes Smith	1.00
To 2 pr Shoes @ 12/	3.00 = 4.00

E Robinson	Dr
200 To 1 Gros Small Screws 4/6	.56

Nauvoo House (for Mrs. Haws)	Dr
182 To 2 fine Combs @ 1/	.25
To 2 pr Side Combs @ 10	.20 = .45

Wm Law for Wife	Dr
159 To 30½ Yds domestick @ 16 ^c	\$ 4.88

Agnes Smith	Dr
204 To Paid Mis Merrick	1.63

William Walker	Dr
194 To 1 pr Gloves 7/	.88

Joseph W Coolidge	Dr
205 To Paid Jones & Harts V O	\$40.60

	Arthur Millikin	Dr (Wife)
172	To 1 pr Gloves 2/6	.31
	To 1½ Yd Silk @ 8/	1.50
	To ¾ Yd Silk @ 4/	.38
	To 3 Yds Ribband @ 2/	.75
	To ½ Yd Book Muslin @ 5/	.31
	To 2 pr Side Combs @ 10	.20
	To 1 fine Comb 1/	.13
	To 4 Spools Cotton @ 6¢	.25
	To 1 Umbrella 12/	1.50
	To pr Shoes 16/	2.00 = 7.33

	Agnes Smith	Dr
204	To 1½ yd Bonnet Silk @ 4/	.63
	To 1½ yd Silk @ 8/	1.50
	To 1 pr Gloves 2/	.25
	To 2 Yds Bonnet Silk @ 8/	2.00
	To 2 Combs @ 1/3	.31
	To 6 Yds Check @ 2/	1.50
	To 6 Yds Ribband @ 20	1.20
	To 4 do do @ 3/	1.50
	To 1 do do @ 10	.10
	To 6 do do @ 2/	1.50
	To 17 yds Calico @ 2/	4.25
	To 2 do foundation @ 2/	.50
	To 8 yds factory @ 13	1.04
	To 1 pr shoes 8/	1.00
	To 1 pr do 6/	.75
	To 2 pr do @ 5/	1.25
	To 2 pr Slips @ 10/	2.50
	To Hat 3/ 1 pr Shoes 13/	2.00
	To 8 Yds Calico @ 2/	2.00
	To 9 do do @ 2/	2.00
	To 1 paper Pins 1/	.13 = 27.92

	Agnes Smith	Crt
204	By Sidney Roberts order	4.00
	By Sml H Smith order	1.75 = \$5.75

	Loren Walker	Dr
56	To 1 pr Gloves 7/	.88
	To 2 Hkfs @ 3/	.75
	To 1 do 5/	.63
	To 1 pr Boots	4.50 = 6.76

Aaron Johnson Boy	Dr	
142 To 1 Hat 3/		.38

W ^m Walker	Dr	
194 To 1 pr Boots	4.50	
To 1 pr Shoes	2.25	
To 2 Hkfs @ 3/	.75	
To 1 do 5/	.63	
To 1 Stock 16/	2.00 = 10.13	

R Hadlock pr Wife	Dr	
179 To 3 Willow Bonnets @ 10/	3.75	
To 3 Yds Ribband @ 16 ^{ct}	.48	
To 12½ Blk Lace @ 7/	1.10	
To 3 Yds Drilling @ 2/	.75	
To 6 yds Calico @ 2/6	1.88	
To do do @ 2/	.50	
To ½ do Lace @ 8/	.50 = 8.96	

W ^m Huntington	Dr	
27 To Bal on Goods for Wife		1.97

William Marks pr Daught	Dr	
183 To 2 pr Shoes @ 12/		3.00

Saml H Smith	Dr	
193 To 1 pr Shoes for Wife	1.50	
To Paid Agnes Smith V Order	1.75	

Lyman O. Littlefield	Dr Wife	
181 To 1 pr L Boots	2.00	
To 15 yds Domestick @ 16 1/3	2.40	
To 3 do Crash @ 16	.50	
To 7 Yds Calico for Mary	1.75 = 6.65	

N K Whitney	Dr	
177 To cash 3/ Balone 14¢		.52

Daniel H Wells pr Wife	Dr	
104 To 1 Boys Cap 8/	1.00	
To 2 yds Ribband @ 2/	.50	
To 2 pr Stay Backs 3/	.38	
To 6½ yd Saxony @ 5/	4.00	
To 1 pr Cifsors 2/6	.31	
To 1 Collar Ladis 3/	.38 = 6.63	

	W ^m Manhard	Dr
16	To 2 pr Shoes 12/ & 14/	3.25
	To 3 Yds Calico 4/6	.56
	To 1 Bonnet 10/ pd Girl 2/	1.50
	To Knives & Forks 6/	.75
	To pins 1/ pepper & Spice 2/	.38
	To 1 Looking Glass 3/6	.44
	To 3½ yds Linnen 14/	1.75
	To 12 yds Cotton @ 14 ^{ct}	1.68 = 10.31

	Temple Committee for Higbee	Dr
202	To 1 pr Boots (fine)	3.25
	To 1 Neck Stock 9/	1.13
	To 1 pr Gloves 7/	.88
	To 1 Stock for F M Higbee	1.50 = 8.51

	David Manhard	Dr
264	To 1 pr Shoes 13/	1.63
	To 1 do do 14/	1.75
	To 33½ Yds White Cotton @ 1/6	6.29
	To 7 do 4/4 Calico @ 3/	2.63
	To 5 do drill @ 2/	1.25
	To 1 pr Gloves 2/6	.31
	To Buttons /6	.06
	To 3 yds Calico 3/	.38
	To Cloth Brush 3/6	.44
	To 1 Pencil 2/ Calico 6/	1.00
	To 1 Umbrella 11/	1.25
	To British Oil 1/	.12
	To Pd Girl 10/	1.25
	To 3 yd drill 9/	1.13
	To 2 Hkf 8/	1.00 = 20.61
	To 32 yds Cotton Sheeting 14¢	4.48
	To Paper 1/ Knives & forks 6/	.88
	To Spice 1/6	.19
		<u>26.16</u>

	Printing Office	Dr
163	To Paid Asa Works	\$3.81

	J W Coolidge	Dr
205	To 6 pr Table Butts @ 1/3	.74
	To Gros Screws @ 5/6	.69
	To do do 4/	.50
	To do do 10/	1.25
	To do do 9/	1.13

To 4 pr Door Butts @ 10¢	.40
To 2 Cupboard Lock @ 1/6	.38
To 1 Pencil /6 1 Cain Hat 16/	2.06
To 1 pr Shoes 18/	2.25
To 1 pr do 12/	1.50
To 1 palm L Hat 2/3	.25
To 1 yd Riband 10¢	.10 = 11.48

Temple Committee	Dr for Cahoon
202 To 12 Yds Woosted @ 6/6	9.75

Nauvoo House pr H Miller	Dr
182 To 1 pr Shoes 13/	1.63
To 1 Hat 3/	.37
To 2¼ drill @ 2/6 for P Haws wife	.71
To 2 yds do @ 3/ do	.75
To 15 do Calico @ 3/	5.63
To 16 do do @ 33 1/3	5.33
To 2 paper pins	.25
To 3 Hair Combs 3/	.38
To 1 do do 1/3	.15
To 30 3/4 factory @ 13 cts	4.00
To 1 pr Scissors 2/6	.31
To 11 yds Calico @ 2/	2.75
To 4 do Check 1/6	.75 = 23.01

Saturday July 2^d 1842

William Marks	Dr
183 To Paid Colard Man V O	1.75

N.K. Whitney	Dr
177 To 1 Stock Linnin Tape for Sarah	.10

J B Noble	Dr
38 To 2 Palm Leaf Hats @ 3/	.75

J C Kingsbury	Dr
175 To 1 pr Shoes 13/	1.62
To Pd Harmon 9/	1.12
To Paid Cluff	.35
To do Mrs Lightner 6/6	.81 = 3.91

L O Littlefield	Dr
181 To 8 yds Calico @ 2/	2.00
To 1½ do Diaper @ 1/6	.28

	To 1 Sett Knives & forks	1.50	
	To Spoons 1/6	.19	
	To Edgin 1/	.13 = 4.10	
<hr/>			
	James M. Rollins		Dr
188	To 3 Spoons	.19	
	To ½ yd Lace 4/	.30	
	To 4 yd Edgin 2/	.25 = .94	
<hr/>			
	Desdemony Fulmer		Dr
83	To 1½ Yd Silk @ 8/	1.50	
	To 1 pr artificial 3/	.38	
	To 2 yds Ribband @ 2/	.50	
	To 1 do foundation 2/	.25	
	To 1 pr Gloves 2/6	.31	
	To 1 Hkfs 2/3 1 at mull 6/	.78	
	To ½ Yd Book Muslin @ 5/	.31	
	To 2 do Edgin @ 1/	.25	
	To 1 Spool /6	.06	
	To 2 Skeins Silk 1/	.13	
	To 2 pr Hoes @ 2/	.50	
	To 1 pr Scissors 2/6	.31	
	To 1 Pr Shears 5/	.63	
	To 6 Yds Wire @ 3¢	.19	
	To 2 Spools 1/	.13	
	To 2 pr Side Combs	.12	
	To 2 Back Comb @ 1/	.25	
	To 1 PS Brade 1/	.13	
	To 10 yds factry @ 2/	2.50	
	To 2 Spools Thread 1/	.13	
	To 1 fine Comb 1/4	.16	
	To 1 yd Calico 2/	.25	
	To 1 do foundation 2/	.25 = \$10.02	
<hr/>			
	Hiram Smith		Dr
37	To 1 pr Shoes	1.75	
	To 1 Riding Whip	1.50	
	To 34 Yds Sheeting @ 13 cts	4.42 = 7.67	
<hr/>			
	G W Thatcher		Dr
196	To Bal on Goods this day	\$ 5.50	
<hr/>			
	Joseph Smith		Dr
178	To 95 ^{lb} Sugar @ 1/	11.88	
	To 17 ^{lb} Codfish @ 10¢	1.70	
	To Paid this amt to man	10.00	

To 2 fine Straw Bonnets for		
Eliza Partridge		7.00
To 278 ^{lb} Sugar @ 12 ^{cts}		33.36 = \$63.94
<hr/>		
Moses Smith		Dr
186	To Goods Del ^d Barlow V O	\$ 25.37
	To this Amt Goods for Self & man	<u>24.21</u>
		49.58
<hr/>		
Aaron Johnson		Dr
142	To Bal on Goods this day	\$ 2.21
<hr/>		
Willford Woodruff		Dr
165	To 3 11/16 ^{lb} L Sugar @ 20 ^c	.75
	To 2½ Yds Blk Camb @ 1/6	.47
	To 1 Spade 10/	1.25 = 2.47
<hr/>		
Wilson Law		Dr
166	To 1 Whip 12/	1.50
<hr/>		
Willard Richards		Dr
201	To P ^d Caroline Tomlinson	1.75
	To P ^d Miss Nickerson (for Clayton)	1.00 = 2.75
<hr/>		
John Taylor		Dr
128	To 1 pr Shoes 12/	1.50
	To 3 Yds Ribband @ 10 ^{cts}	.30
	To 1 do do @	.06
<hr/>		
William Symons		Dr
114	To 1 pr shoes 16/	\$ 2.00
<hr/>		
William Law pr wife		Dr
159	To 8 Yd Calico @ 1/	1.00
	To 1 pr Small Shoes 8/	1.00 = 2.00
<hr/>		
J W Coolidge		Dr
205	To 1 pr Shoes	2.00
	To 12 Yd Stripe Cotton @ 2/6 Buttons 1/	3.88
	To Thread do 1/ 2 Hkfs 6/ 3 Hkfs 3/	1.25
	To 2 Yds Sheeting 2/	.25 = 7.38
	del ^d Fisher & Himself	
<hr/>		

	Truman Brace	Dr
21	To this amt Goods this day as on Bill	\$25.52

	Brigham Young	Dr(pr Boy)
187	To 1 pr Shoes	2.25
	To 1 do Small Shoes	1.00
	To 1 Cradle Scythe for Man	1.50 = 4.75

	C.P. Lott	Dr
176	To 36 Yds Cotton @ 16 ^c	5.76

	Nauvoo House	Dr
182	To 1 pr Shoes for H Miller	1.63
	To Pines 1 Miller	.13
	To Jeans Miller	.35
	To 1 pr Boots Miller	4.00 = 6.11

	D. Huntington	Dr
171	To 4 Skeins Silk @ 6 ^c	.25
	To 2 Yd Lace 4/ Riband 3/	.88 = 1.13

	C.P. Lott	Dr
176	To 1 Sett Knives & forks	2.00

	James H. Rollins	Dr
188	To 3½ Doz Eggs @	.21
	To 2 ^{lb} Butter	.16 = .37

	William Law	Dr
159	To 1 pr Shoes for Wife	.75

	Arthur Millikin	Dr
172	To 3 Yds Wire @ ³	.09
	To 1 Box Hooks & Eyes	.66
	To 1 pr Scissors 2/6	.31
	To 1 Shawl 5/	.63
	To 1 Hkfs 2/3 1 pr Shoes 12/	1.78
	To 5 Bunch Butting @ 1/	.63
	To 1 pr Suspenders 6/	.75 = 4.25

	W.W. Phelps	Dr
195	To 1 yd Ribband	.13

N.K. Whitney	Dr
177 To Paid Girl	1.24
To do do	2.37 = 3.66

Theodore Turley	Dr
199 To 2 Combs for Girl	.25

James H. Rollins	Dr
188 To 4 yds Calico @ 2/-	1.00
To 1 Bonnet 10/	1.25
To 1 paper Pins 1/	.13
To ½ Yd Sassinet 2/	.25
To 2 Yds Ribband 4/-	.50
To 2 do do 2/-	.25
To 1 Hkfs 4/	.50
To 2 pr Shoes 13/	1.63
To Paid Mrs Hyde	.50 = \$6.01

Porter Rockwell	Dr
35 To ½ Doz S. Collars @ 2/3	1.69

Willard Richards	Dr
201 To Goods this day del ^d J Youngs PM Rend	34.43
To 6 Yds Sheeting @ 1/6 for Mrs Hyde	1.13
To this Amt Goods deld Mrs Hyde	6.10
	41.65

Joseph C. Kingbury	Dr
175 To 1 Umbrella 10/	1.25
To Paid McBride for Rails	2.00
To 7 Yds Bleach Cotton @ 1/6	1.31 = 4.56

N.K. Whitney	Dr
117 To 3 Doz Eggs	.19
To 1 pr Shoes 12/	1.50
To 2 Barlows 2/	.25
To Wicking & Gloves 3/6	.44 = 2.38

Joseph Smith Jr (pr Son)	Dr
178 To 1 pr Boots del ^d Roundy	4.00

Temple Committee	Dr
212 To 1 pr Boots Del ^d Wm Kimball	3.50
To Thread for Hulett	.19 = 3.69

	Nauvoo House	Dr
182	To 1 pr Boots del ^d J. Miller	3.50
	To 1 pr Suspenders for G Miller Son	.38
	To 1 pr Shoes for P Haws Son	1.62
	To 1 Yd Ribband 10 Son	.10
	To 1 pr Boots for G Miller	4.00 = 9.60

	E Robinson	Dr
200	To 1 pr fine Boots	5.00
	To 1 pr Kid Slipd 12/	1.50 = 6.50

	E L Brown	Dr
173	To P ^d S Wilson on Note 2/	.25

	Lucy Foot	Dr
X	To Bal on Calico	.29

	Herber C Kimball	Dr
96	To 1 pr Boots	\$4.50

	William Law	Dr
159	To Paid V Order for Meal	\$4.00

	Isaac Chase	Dr
136	To 1 pr Boots	3.50
	To Pins 1/ Buttons 1/	.25 = 3.75

	V Knight	Dr
190	To 22 Yds Ticking @ 2/	5.50
	To 32 do Sheetting @ 13 ^c	4.16 = 9.66

Notes

1. Storekeeping in Nauvoo

¹ Joseph Smith, Jr., the formal name of the founder and prophet of the Mormon religion, will be designated in this monograph as Joseph Smith. His son, when referenced, will be distinguished as Joseph Smith III.

² The best introductions to the Mormon experience in Nauvoo are Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965); David E. Miller and Della S. Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph* (Santa Barbara: Peregrine Smith, 1974). For a perceptive review of the literature on Mormon Nauvoo see Richard D. Poll, "Nauvoo and the New Mormon History: A Bibliographical Survey," *Journal of Mormon History*, 5 (1978): 105-23.

³ William V. Pooley, *The Settlement of Illinois from 1830 to 1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Extension Service, 1908), p. 509; Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* (Davis City, Iowa), 2 (April 1890): 243; Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B.H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976 ed.), 3:269-71; Mrs. Paul Selby, "Recollections of a Little Girl in the Forties," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 16 (1923-1924): 168-69. An intriguing description of the development of the Mormon concept of the Kingdom of God and its expression in Nauvoo can be found in Klaus J. Hansen, *Quest for Empire: The Kingdom of God and the Council of Fifty in Mormon History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1974 ed.), pp. 72-89.

⁴ Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 27-39; Lyndon W. Cook, "Isaac Galland - Mormon Benefactor," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Spring 1979): 261-84; Robert Bruce Flanders, "Dream and Nightmare: Nauvoo Revisited," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 144-45; Ronald K. Esplin, ed., "Sickness and Faith: Nauvoo Letters," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 15 (Summer 1975): 425-34; Joseph Smith, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *Saints' Herald*, 81 (13 November 1934): 1453-54, 81 (20 November 1934): 1479; Richard H. Jackson, "The Mormon Village: Genesis and Antecedents of the City of Zion Plan," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 17 (Winter 1977): 223-40; Donald L. Enders, "Platting the City Beautiful: A Historical and Archaeological Glimpse of Nauvoo Streets," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Spring 1979): 409-15.

⁵ George Miller, *Correspondence of Bishop George Miller with the Northern Islander from his First Acquaintance with Mormonism Up to Near the End of his Life, 1855*, Wingfield Watson, comp. (n.p., 1916), p. 117.

⁶ Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:177-78; *Times and Seasons*, 3 (1 April 1842): 750.

⁷ Thomas Gregg, *The History of Hancock County, Illinois* (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman, 1880), pp. 296-98.

⁸ Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:482.

⁹ *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1970 ed.), Section 107; Laurel B. Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons:*

The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1978), chapters 4-5.

¹⁰ W. Gerard Huslamp, "The Mormon Colony of Nauvoo, Illinois," *Journal of the West*, 2 (October 1963): 470; Henry Lewis, *Making a Motion Picture in 1848* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1936), p. 51; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 194-96; Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:434-35.

¹¹ Gregg, *History of Hancock County*, pp. 374-75; *Millennial Star*, 3 (August 1842): 78; Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:166.

¹² *Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 1842-January 1844; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 27 June 1842, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City; Leonard J. Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint: Bishop Edwin D. Wooley* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976), pp. 114-17.

¹³ Gregg, *History of Hancock County*, pp. 296-98.

¹⁴ On the Law brothers see, Lyndon W. Cook, "William Law, Nauvoo Dissenter," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 22 (Winter 1982): 47-62.

¹⁵ Joseph Smith, Jr., "History of Joseph Smith," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool, England), 19 (10 January 1857): 20-21, 19 (20 June 1857): 391; Richard P. Howard, "The Joseph Smith Store: Church Headquarters at Nauvoo?" *Saints' Herald*, 118 (October 1971): 34.

¹⁶ Joseph Smith III, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 81 (18 December 1934): 1612.

¹⁷ Joseph Smith, Jr. to Edward Hunter, 21 December 1841, in Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:481-83.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 4:483.

¹⁹ Joseph Smith, Jr., Estate Papers, Clerk of Court Office, Hancock County, Illinois, Hancock County Courthouse, Carthage, Illinois.

²⁰ Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:476.

²¹ Lewis E. Atherton, *The Frontier Merchant in Mid-America* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971), pp. 48-50.

²² Joseph Smith, Jr. to Edward Hunter, 5 January 1842, in Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:491.

²³ *Ibid.*, 4:491-92.

²⁴ Red Brick Store Daybook, 2 July 1842, Masonic Library, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. According to the daybook, the following individuals had accounts in the Red Brick Store:

James Allred	Margaret Butterfield	Joseph Durfee
William Backenstos	Daniel Cams	Erastus Drury
John Benbow	Isaac Chase	T. Emmons
John C. Bennett	Ezra Chase	George Fidler
John Bills	William Clayton	James Fields
John F. Boyington	John Cleveland	Lucy Foote
Truman Brace	Robert Cliff	William Ford
James Bradshaw	Joseph W. Collidge	Robert D. Foster
E.L. Brown	Austin Cowles	Desdemona Fulmer
Alfred Brown	George W. Crouse	William Garner

Carolos Granger	Meltiah Luce	Aaron Smith
Jedediah Grant	Amasa Lyman	Agnes Smith
William Green	John Lytle	Hyrum Smith
William Greenhart	Hugh McFall	Joseph Smith
Alphonso Greer	David Manhard	Moses Smith
Reuben Hadlock	William Manhard	R.R. Smith
Peter Haws	Stephen Markham	William B. Smith
Curtis Hodges	William Marks	John Snider
D.S. Hollister	Peter Maughan	Orson Spencer
Henry Humphrey	Arthur Millikin	Hershel Sprague
Edward Hunter	Alexander Mills	J.W. Statham
Dimick Huntington	Thomas Moore	Samuel B. Stoddard
William D. Huntington	Isaac Morley	William Symons
Charles Irving	Jacob Morris	John Taylor
James Ivins	Arthur Morrison	George W. Thatcher
Captain Dan Jones	Joseph Bates Noble	Alva Tippits
J.S. Jones	John Parker	John Toole
Aaron Johnson	W.W. Phelps	Theodore Turley
Heber C. Kimball	E. Potter	Newel K. Whitney
Hiram Kimball	John Regan	Loren Walker
J.C. Kimball	J.G. Remick	William Walker
Joseph C. Kingsbury	Asa Rice	Lorenzo D. Wasson
Vinson Knight	Willard Richards	Daniel H. Wells
William Law	Alanson Ripley	
Wilson Law	Sidney Roberts	
James Lawrence	John R. Robins	
Julian Lawrence	Chauncey Robinson	
Maria Lawrence	Ebenezer Robinson	
Nelson Lawrence	Orrin Porter Rockwell	
Sarah Lawrence	James Henry Rollins	
Peter Lemon	John Rollins	
Adam Lightner	Shadrach Roundy	
Lyman O. Littlefield	John Sanders	
Cornelius P. Lott	David Sessions	
Hamilton Lott		

The following organizations also had accounts at the Red Brick Store:

Coolidge & Co.	Nauvoo Relief Society
Maid of Iowa	Printing Office
Nauvoo City Council	Taylor & Woodruff
Nauvoo House	Temple Committee
Nauvoo Masonic Lodge	W. & W. Law

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 20 March 1843.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 5 April 1843.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 9 October 1843.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, *passim*; Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph*, p. 84.

²⁹ Arrington, *From Quaker to Latter-day Saint*, pp. 86-88.

³⁰ *Ibid.*; Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:45, 6:317.

³¹ Smith to Hunter, 9 March 1842, in Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:548-49.

³² *Journal of Discourses*, 1:214-16.

³³ Miller and Miller, *Nauvoo: The City of Joseph*, pp. 84-85; *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 15 May 1844.

³⁴ Fawn M. Brodie, *No Man Knows My History: The life of Joseph Smith, the Mormon Prophet* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971 ed.), p. 266; "Schedule Setting forth a List of Petitions, Creditors, Their Residence and Amount Due Each," [March 1842], Joseph Smith, Jr., Papers, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

³⁵ Lawrence W. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), pp. 238-43.

³⁶ *The Wasp* (Nauvoo), 16 April 1842.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 14 May 1842, 18 June 1842, 16 July 1842; *Sangamo Journal* (Springfield), 1 July 1842; Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:594-95.

³⁸ Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 168-73; Dallin H. Oaks and Joseph I. Bentley, "Joseph Smith and Legal Process: In the Wake of the Steamboat *Nauvoo*," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Winter 1979): 167-99.

2. Center of Nauvoo Society

¹ Joseph Smith, Jr., "History of Joseph Smith," *Latter-day Saints' Millennial Star* (Liverpool, England), 19 (10 January 1857): 20-21, 19 (20 June 1857): 391; Richard P. Howard, "The Joseph Smith Store: Church Headquarters at Nauvoo?" *Saints' Herald*, 118 (October 1971): 34.

² "History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star*, 19 (20 June 1857): 391.

³ Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *Saints' Herald*, 81 (18 December 1934): 1611-14.

⁴ David E. Miller, "Westward Migration of the Mormons with Special Emphasis on the History of Nauvoo," Report submitted to the National Park Service, 1963, pp. 106-10; Maureen Ursenbach Beecher, ed., "Eliza R. Snow's Nauvoo Journal," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 15 (Summer 1975): 391-415.

⁵ Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 81 (27 November 1934): 1513; *Times and Seasons*, 3 (15 January 1842): 662-63.

⁶ Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 81 (27 November 1934): 1513.

⁷ Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B.H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976 ed.), 6:65-66, 211.

⁸ Robert Glen Cole, *Masonic Gleanings* (n.p.: Rable Printing Co., 1956), pp. 190-92; Kenneth W. Godfrey, "Joseph Smith and the Masons," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 64 (Spring 1971): 79-90.

⁹ Horace Cummings, "History of Horace Cummings," n.p., Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University.

¹⁰ Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:550-52; *The Wasp*, 30 April 1842.

¹¹ Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), pp. 247-49; Ebenezer Robinson, "Items of Personal History," *The Return* (Davis City, Iowa), 2 (June 1890): 287; Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:608, 5:422, 430, 446, 6:287, 359-60.

¹² Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes, 17 March 1842, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 26 May 1842.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Linda King Newell, "A Gift Given, A Gift Taken: Washing, Anointing, and Blessing the Sick Among Mormon Women," *Sunstone*, 6 (September-October 1981): 16-25.

¹⁵ Nauvoo Relief Society Minutes, 19 April 1842.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28 April 1842.

¹⁷ Newell, "A Gift Given, A Gift Taken," pp. 16-18.

¹⁸ Andrew F. Ehat and Lyndon W. Cook, eds., *The Words of Joseph Smith: The Contemporary Accounts of the Nauvoo Discourses of the Prophet* (Provo: Brigham Young University Religious Studies Center, 1980), pp. 20-21.

¹⁹ Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 71 (27 November 1934): 1511.

²⁰ Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, pp. 319-20.

²¹ *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 22 May 1844.

²² See Joseph Smith, *Daybook*, *passim*.

²³ As evidence of this quorum's increasing influence in church affairs see T. Edgar Lyon, "Nauvoo and the Council of the Twelve," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 167-205.

²⁴ *Times and Seasons* (Nauvoo), 3 (1 September 1842): 909; Smith, *History of the Church*, 6:63.

²⁵ Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:434, 474-75.

²⁶ James B. Allen and Thomas G. Alexander, eds., *Manchester Mormons: The Journal of William Clayton, 1840-1842* (Salt Lake City: Peregrine Smith, 1974), p. 214; Journal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-days Saints, 23 October 1842, Latter-day Saints Historical Department.

²⁷ James B. Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo: William Clayton's Experience in Mormon Illinois," *Journal of Mormon History*, 6 (1979): 42-43.

²⁸ *Nauvoo Neighbor*, 18 June 1842-27 November 1845.

²⁹ Smith, *History of the Church*, 5:166.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 5:196-97.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 5:382.

³² *Ibid.*, 7:456-77, 479-80; "History of Brigham Young," *Millennial Star*, 26 (7 May 1864): 316; Flanders, *Nauvoo*, pp. 306-41.

³³ Joseph Smith, Jr., to Edward Hunter, 5 January 1841, in Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:491.

³⁴ "History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star*, 19 (20 June 1857): 391.

³⁵ *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968 ed.), Sections 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132. The background for these sections is in Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith* (Provo: Seventy's Mission Bookstore, 1981), pp. 242-95. The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, the second largest Mormon organization, accepts only three documents of Joseph Smith's written during the Nauvoo period. See *Book of Doctrine and Covenants* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1978 ed.), Sections 107, 109, 110.

³⁶ Smith, "Memoirs," *Saints' Herald*, 82 (2 April 1935): 432.

³⁷ The controversy over plural marriage has prompted voluminous studies in recent years. A valuable survey of the literature of this subject is Davis Bitton, "Mormon Polygamy: A Review Article," *Journal of Mormon History*, 4 (1977): 101-18. The most extensive studies of the origins of plural marriage are Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: Three American Communal Experiments of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981); Daniel W. Bachman, "A Study of the Mormon Practice of Plural Marriage Before the Death of Joseph Smith," (Master's thesis, Purdue University, 1975); Donna Hill, *Joseph Smith: The First Mormon* (Garden City: Doubleday and Co., 1977), pp. 335-61. On the Ohio origins of the doctrine see Daniel W. Bachman, "New Light on an Old Hypothesis: The Ohio Origins of the Revelation on Eternal Marriage," *Journal of Mormon History*, 5 (1978): 19-31. For a different approach to the subject see Richard P. Howard, "The Changing RLDS Response to Mormon Polygamy: A preliminary Analysis," *Journal of the John Whitmer Historical Association*, 3 (1983): 14-29.

³⁸ Joseph Fielding Smith, *Blood Atonement and the Origin of Plural Marriage* (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Co., 1905), n.p.; W.W. Phelps to Brigham Young, 12 August 1861, Brigham Young Collection, Latter-day Saints Historical Department, Salt Lake City; *Doctrine and Covenants of Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, Section 132; George A. Smith to Joseph Smith III, 9 October 1869, Historian's Office Letterbook, Latter-day Saints Historical Department; Robinson, "Items," *Return*, 3 (February 1890): 29-30; *Journal of Discourses*, 3:266.

³⁹ William Clayton, Diary, 12 July 1843, as quoted in Clayton's *Secret Writings Uncovered: Extracted from the Diaries of Joseph Smith's Secretary William Clayton* (Salt Lake City: Modern Microfilm Co., n.d.), p. 20; Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," p. 52.

⁴⁰ William Clayton, "Another Testimony - Statement of William Clayton," 16 February 1874, William Clayton papers, Latter-day Saints Historical Department.

⁴¹ Andrew Jenson, "Plural Marriage," *Historical Record*, 6 (July 1887): 226.

⁴² *Deseret News* (Salt Lake City), 14 September 1852; *Journal of Discourses*, 17:159; Horace K. Whitney, Journal, 14 March 1847, Latter-day Saints Historical Department; Joseph Smith III, "Last Testimony of Sister Emma," *Saints' Herald*, 26 (1 October 1879): 289-90; Joseph Smith III and Heman C. Smith, *The History of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1973 ed.), 3:351-52. Joseph Smith III, son of the prophet and staunch opponent of plural marriage, documented his mother's destruction of the document in his diary. "Visited

James Whitehead [at Alton, Illinois] had chat with him. He says that he saw the Rev about 1 page foolscap paper. Clayton copied it an it was this copy mother burned." See Joseph Smith III, *Diary*, 20 April 1885, Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri.

⁴³ Oliver Cowdery, "Egyptian Mummies," *Latter Day Saints Messenger and Advocate* (Kirtland, Ohio), 2 (December 1835): 234-37.

⁴⁴ F. Mark McKiernan and Roger D. Launius, eds., *An Early Latter Day Saints History: The Book of John Whitmer* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1980), pp. 147-48.

⁴⁵ "Book of Abraham," *Times and Seasons*, 3 (1 March 1842): 703-706, 3 (15 March 1842): 719-22, 3 (15 May 1842): 783-84; Smith, *History of the Church*, 4:520-34.

⁴⁶ *Pearl of Great Price* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968 ed.), "Book of Abraham."

⁴⁷ Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, pp. 378-83; Newell G. Bringham, *Saints, Slaves, and Blacks: The Changing Place of Black People Within Mormonism* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1981), pp. 34-35, 46-47, 125, 158, 170-71. It should be noted that the Reorganized Church did not canonize the *Book of Abraham* and has considered it little more than an interesting speculative document produced totally by Joseph Smith. See Richard P. Howard, "Joseph Smith, the Book of Abraham, and the Reorganized Church in the 1970s," in *A Decade of the Best: Elbert A. Smith Prize-winning Articles* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1972), pp. 186-211.

⁴⁸ *Deseret News*, 15 February 1884, semi-weekly, p. 2.

⁴⁹ Quoted in Hyrum L. and Helen Mac Andrus, *They Knew the Prophet* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1974), p. 77.

⁵⁰ Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973), pp. 73-74; John C. Bennett, *The History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism* (Boston: Leland and Whiting, 1842), p. 275; James E. Talmage, *The House of the Lord* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1968), pp. 152-68.

⁵¹ Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:364; Minutes of Meeting, 26 January 1845, Miscellaneous Meeting Minutes Collection, Latter-day Saints Historical Department.

⁵² *Deseret News*, 15 February 1884, semi-weekly; L. John Nuttall, *Diary*, 7 February 1877, Latter-day Saints Historical Department. For information on the development of Mormon Temple architecture see Laurel Blank Andrew, *The Early Temples of the Mormons: The Architecture of the Millennial Kingdom in the American West* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1979); Virginia S. Harrington and J.C. Harrington, *Rediscovery of the Nauvoo Temple: Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Salt Lake City: Nauvoo Restoration Inc., 1971); Stanley B. Kimball, "The Nauvoo Temple, *Improvement Era*, November 1963, pp. 974-84; Lisle G. Brown, "The Sacred Departments for Temple Work in Nauvoo: The Assembly Room and the Council Chamber," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Spring 1979): 360-74.

⁵³ "History of Joseph Smith," *Millennial Star*, 19 (20 June 1857): 390-93. This reference, however, was a reconstruction of the event by scribes afterward and was incorrect in certain particulars. The meeting, for instance, included William Law, a member of the

church's first presidency, and William Marks, Nauvoo stake president. Moreover, the "highest order of the Melchizedek Priesthood" supposedly was restored at a different meeting on 28 September 1843. See Eldon Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young* (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), p. 116; Heber C. Kimball, Journal, "Strange Events" section located just before 1845 entries, Latter-day Saints Historical Department; *Young Women's Journal*, 5 (August 1894): 513; Newel K. Whitney Account Book, Box 6, Folder 15, Newel K. Whitney Family Collection, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

⁵⁴ Heber C. Kimball to Parley P. Pratt, 17 June 1842, Parley P. Pratt and Heber C. Kimball Papers, Latter-day Saints Historical Department.

⁵⁵ Robinson, "Items," *Return*, 2 (April 1890): 252.

⁵⁶ William Clayton, Journal, 3 February 1844, as quoted in Allen, "One Man's Nauvoo," pp. 47-48.

⁵⁷ Robinson, "Items," *Return*, 2 (April 1890): 253-54.

⁵⁸ D. Michael Quinn, "Latter-day Saint Prayer Circles," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Fall 1978): 82-89.

⁵⁹ Kimball, Journal, 26 January, 15 April, 1 October, 29 October 1845; Smith, *History of the Church*, 7:387; Quinn, "Prayer Circles," p. 92; Brown, "Sacred Departments for Temple Work," pp. 365-74; Roger D. Launius, "Joseph Smith III and the Mormon Succession Crisis, 1844-1846," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, 6 (Spring 1983): 3-22.

⁶⁰ Blessing of Joseph Smith III, 17 January 1844, Reorganized Church Library-Archives. An account of the blessing is in "Testimony of James Whitehead," in *Complainant's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence in the Circuit Court of the United States, Western District of Missouri, Western Division, at Kansas City, Missouri* (Lamoni, Iowa: Herald Publishing House, 1893), pp. 27-28, 32; *Autumn Leaves* (Lamoni, Iowa), 1 (May 1888): 202; W.W. Blair, Diary, 17 June 1874, Reorganized Church Library-Archives; Alexander H. Smith, Diary, 14 May 1864, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

⁶¹ Joseph Smith, Jr., Journal, 21 January 1844; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, 21 January 1844, both in the Latter-day Saints Historical Department; Ehat and Cook, eds., *Words of Joseph Smith*, pp. 317-19. A discussion about the authority, meaning, and nature of his blessing can be found in D. Michael Quinn, "Joseph Smith III's 1844 Blessing and the Mormons of Utah," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 15 (Summer 1982): 69-90; W. Grant McMurray, "'True Son of a True Father': Joseph Smith III and the Succession Question," in Maurice L. Draper, ed., *Restoration Studies I* (Independence, Missouri: Herald Publishing House, 1980), pp. 131-45.

3. From Decline to Destruction, 1844-1890

¹ Anson Call, "Life and Record of Anson Call," p. 27, Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

² Williams M. Daniels, "Narrative," *Journal of History*, 11 (October 1919): 406. See also Dallin H. Oaks and Marvin S. Hill, *Carthage Conspiracy: The Trial of the Accused Assassins of Joseph Smith* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 6-29.

³ Emma Smith to Joseph L. Heywood, 18 October 1844, Manuscript Collections, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

⁴ Joseph Smith III, "The Memoirs of President Joseph Smith (1832-1914)," *Saints' Herald*, 82 (5 February 1935): 176.

⁵ Joseph Smith III to Emma Bidamon, 8 March 1863, Emma Smith Bidamon Papers; Joseph Smith III to Thomas Revell, 2 July 1880, Joseph Smith III Papers; Joseph Smith III to Maj. L.C. Bidamon, 4 September 1875, Lewis Crum Bidamon Papers, all in Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints Library-Archives, Independence, Missouri. For a general introduction to Bidamon see Valeen Tippetts Avery and Linda King Newell, "Lewis C. Bidamon: Stepchild of Mormondom," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Spring 1979): 375-88.

⁶ Joseph Smith III, "Autobiography," in Edward W. Tullidge, *Life of Joseph the Prophet* (Plano, Illinois: Herald Publishing House, 1880), p. 755.

⁷ A study of the importance of the grain trade and how businessmen tried to control it can be found in John G. Clark, *The Grain Trade of the Old Northwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

⁸ Smith, "Autobiography," in Tullidge, *Life of Joseph*, pp. 755-56; Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 82 (12 February 1935): 209-10, 82 (19 February 1935): 239-40; Joseph Smith III to Mary B. Smith, 4 December 1876, Joseph Smith III Letterbook #1, Reorganized Church Library-Archives.

⁹ Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 82 (5 February 1935): 176-78, 82 (12 February 1935): 207.

¹⁰ The Mormon stake was an administrative jurisdiction consisting of several congregations in close geographic proximity.

¹¹ Smith, "Autobiography," in Tullidge, *Life of Joseph*, pp. 782-83; Early Reorganization Minutes, Book A, 6 April 1865, Reorganized Church Library-Archives; Smith, "Memoirs," *Herald*, 82 (16 April 1935): 496-97.

¹² Emma Smith Bidamon to Joseph Smith III, 22 October 1866, Emma Smith Bidamon Papers.

¹³ Thomas Gregg, *History of Hancock County, Illinois* (Chicago: Charles C. Chapman, 1880), p. 959.

¹⁴ Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973), pp. 17, 23-29.

¹⁵ *Nauvoo Independent*, 4 July 1890, 8 August 1890.

¹⁶ Bray, *Archaeological Investigations*, pp. 34-35; T. Edgar Lyon, Research Historian, Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., to F. Mark McKiernan, 14 July 1972.

4. Store Reconstruction

¹ These difficulties have been described in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, "Lewis C. Bidamon: Stepchild of Mormondom," *Brigham Young University Studies*, 19 (Spring 1979): 375-88; Newell and Avery, "The Lion and the Lady: Brigham Young and Emma Smith," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 48 (Winter 1980): 81-97; Roger D. Launius, "Joseph Smith III and the Mormon Succession Crisis, 1844-1846," *Western Illinois Regional Studies*, 4 (Spring 1983): 5-22.

² These episodes received attention in Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith, Prophet's Wife, "Elect Lady," Polygamy's Foe* (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1984); Alma R. Blair, "The Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints: Moderate Mormons," in F. Mark McKiernan, Alma R. Blair, and Paul M. Edwards, eds., *The Restoration Movement: Essays in Mormon History* (Lawrence: Coronado Press, 1973), pp. 207-30; Roger D. Launius, "'And There Came Prophets in the Land Again': The Life of Joseph Smith III, 1832-1914, Mormon Reformer" (Ph.D. diss., Louisiana State University, 1982).

³ The cemetery, located on the Homestead grounds, contained the bodies of Joseph Smith, Sr., and Lucy Mack Smith, the parents of the prophet; of Joseph and Emma Smith; of Hyrum, Samuel, and Don Carlos Smith, brothers of the prophet; Lewis C. Bidamon, Emma's second husband; and numerous other relatives.

⁴ The Nauvoo restoration effort has been reviewed in T. Edgar Lyon, "The Current Restoration in Nauvoo, Illinois," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought*, 5 (Spring 1970): 11-25.

⁵ The center's summer internship program was recognized by a certificate of commendation from the American Association for State and Local History, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1977. Richard D. Poll, "Nauvoo and the New Mormon History: A Bibliographical Survey," *Journal of Mormon History*, 5 (1978): 107; "Historic Sites Receive International Recognition," *Saints' Herald*, 125 (February 1978): 55. A solid description of the Reorganized Church's efforts in Nauvoo can be found in Kenneth E. Stobaugh, "The Historic Site: A Living Document of the Past," *Saints' Herald*, 124 (October 1977): 31-34. Indicative of the quality of archaeological excavation were the site reports. See especially, Robert T. Bray, *Archaeological Investigations at the Joseph Smith Red Brick Store, Nauvoo, Illinois* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1973) and Robert T. Bray, *Times and Seasons: An Archaeological Perspective on Early Latter Day Saints Pringing* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1976).

⁶ These plans were formalized for all the Reorganized Church's historic sites during 1970s. See F. Mark McKiernan, *Preserving and Interpreting Our Physical Heritage: A Master Plan of the Historical Properties of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Independence, Missouri: Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints, 1977).

⁷ A group from the Ladies Relief Society of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints visited the store site to have their picture taken there. The building held significance for them because their society was founded at that location in 1842. Unfortunately, the woman holding the camera, to get everyone into the picture, kept backing farther away. Eventually, she fell backwards into the basement ruin. Medical assistance was summoned from Carmen Ourth, a local nurse who came over on a bicycle, but the woman was not badly injured. Interview with Kenneth E. Stobaugh, Louisville, Kentucky, 20 September 1984.

⁸ The first week of the daybook has been reproduced in Chapter 5.

⁹ Interview with Kenneth E. Stobaugh, Nauvoo, Illinois, 2 April 1985.

¹⁰ Joseph Smith, Jr., to Edward Hunter, 5 January 1842, in Joseph Smith, Jr., *The History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, B.H. Roberts, ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Co., 1976 ed.), 4:491-92.

¹¹ Bray, *Archaeological Investigations at the Red Brick Store*, p. 33.

¹² In the foreground, this painting shows a picnic scene of a woman, two girls, and a boy wearing a round hat. Each of these people was significant to David Smith. The woman represented his mother, Emma Smith, and the girls were childhood friends Rosyland Newberry and Emma Austin, while the boy is the artist as a child. The painting is the property of David Smith's grandson, Lynn Smith, of Independence, Missouri. Lynn Smith has spent a lifetime collecting material concerning his grandfather and has the finest collection of his art and music that exists.

¹³ This is an example of apostolic humor.

